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ANARCHISM OLD AND NEW:

The Reconstruction of
the Confederacion
Nacional del Trabajo,
1976-1979.

Vol. 1

Ph.D. thesis.

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Margaret Torres.

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SUMMARY

The major objective of my thesis was to understand why sectors of the reconstructed anarcho-syndicalist trade union, the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, were addressing concerns which were identical to sectors of the Marxist Left in other countries of Europe. For my views on anarchism had been informed by a Marxist interpretation of anarchism, which rested on the assumption that anarchism was an agrarian, and/or a petit bourgeois philosophy which could have little relevance in advanced industrial societies. This anomaly - my experience of anarchist militants within the CNT, and the vision of anarchism expounded by "classical" Marxism - led me to undertake an historical study of the Spanish anarchist movement and a theoretical study of Marxist and anarchist thought. Moreover, in order to understand the demands of the anarchists and the CNT during the 1960's and 1970's, I had to thoroughly study the developments which had taken place within the workers' and student movements during the Francoist period, and the nature of the CNT organisation in exile, factors which would bear heavily on the CNT's attempt at reconstruction. Through extensive interviewing and the use of documents, I tried to piece together the process of anarchist re-emergence in Spain from the mid-1960's, and the nature of the reconstruction of the CNT during the political transition to democracy in Spain in 1976-1979.

The overall theme of my thesis centres on the relationship between Marxism and anarchism, and their relationship to historical development and tradition. By emphasising the importance of historical tradition - the political aspect most sorely underestimated in both Marxist and anarchist thought - I hope my thesis will contribute towards the possibility of a more realisable socialist utopia.

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GLOSSARY of SPANISH TERMS.

<u>C.N.T.</u>	Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, (The National Confederation of Labour), the anarcho-syndicalist trade union, founded in 1911.
<u>cenetista.</u>	A member of the C.N.T.
<u>F.A.I.</u>	Federacion Anarquista Iberica. (The Iberian Anarchist Federation), founded in 1927.
<u>faísta</u>	A member of the F.A.I.
<u>P.S.O.E.</u>	Partido Socialista Obrero Español. (The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party), founded in 1879.
<u>U.G.T.</u>	Unión General de Trabajadores. (General Workers' Union), the Socialist trade union, founded in 1888.
<u>P.O.U.M.</u>	Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista. (Unified Marxist Workers' Party), formed by left Communist dissidents from the BOC, (Bloc Obrero y Camperol) and Izquierda Comunista in 1935.
<u>P.S.U.C.</u>	Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (The Unified Catalan Socialist Party). The Catalan Communist Party.
<u>C.E.D.A.</u>	Confederacion Española de Derechas Autonomas. (The Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right groups), founded in 1933.
<u>Generalitat.</u>	The Catalan parliament.

Treintistas.

Literally "The Group of Thirty". This name was given to the group around Peiró, Pestaña and Lopez, who drew up a thirty-point programme at the beginning of the Republic. The "Treintista" manifesto called for more responsible trade union action, in the context of a dialogue with the Republican regime. It also heavily criticised F.A.I. interference in C.N.T. affairs.

F.S.L.

Federación Socialista Libertaria (The Libertarian Socialist Federation). The "specific" organisation set-up by the Treintistas in 1933-1934.

The "official"

C.N.T.

The C.N.T. organisation in exile.

"caciquismo".

The Spanish political system within which the "caciques" (normally a large landowner in the countryside and the Civil Governor in the towns), organised their respective districts politically for the government in exchange for certain privileges.

Ramblas.

A central promenade in Barcelona.

pueblo.

A village, a people or a nation. Often used for the "common people".

convenio.

The yearly wage agreement.

"desencanto".

Literally, "disenchantment". A term used to describe the growing lack of interest in politics which occurred after the

summer '77 elections in Spain.

Grupos Obreros

Autónomos.

Autonomous Workers' Groups.

C.C.O.O.

Comisiones Obreras (The Workers' Commissions).

F.O.C.

Front Obrer de Catalunya (The Catalan Workers' Front), the Catalan branch of the F.L.P. (Frente de Liberación Popular), The Popular Liberation Front.

H.O.A.C.

Hermandades Obreras de Acción Católica. (Catholic Action Workers' Fraternity).

J.O.C.

Juventud Obrera Católica. (The Young Workers' Catholic Association).

INTRODUCTION

My interest in the Spanish worker's movement dates from the mid-1970's, when I lived for a few years under the decomposing Francoist regime. These were years of great opposition and intense political discussion, when many of us felt that the revolution was at hand. This perhaps is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Spanish political society : at times, like the mid-seventies, it seems like the structures of the old regime can be overthrown with just another great push, only to discover that they have enormous solidity, and that ultimately the armed forces can be counted on to uphold them.

My knowledge of the Spanish libertarian movement at that time was minimal. I was of course impressed by the anarchist collectives during the Civil War, and convinced that the anarchist movement was the most important revolutionary movement in Spanish working class history. But my Marxist prejudice took its classical form. Had it not been proved that anarchism, as a political ideology of the working class, had serious limitations, by joining the Popular Front government during the Civil War, and not seizing power ? Had the events of the Civil War not shown that "anti-politicism" was just another petit bourgeois cop-out ? But at the same time the Spanish anarchist movement held a strange fascination for me. After all, it had succeeded in remaining a powerful working class movement till the 1930's, when anarchism in the rest of Europe had been reduced to small, insignificant groups. Moreover, my contacts with "older generation" anarchists in Valencia province had left a strong personal impression

on me. Their generosity, optimism and zest of life contrasted dramatically with the "old age syndrome" of bourgeois society. So, while I could accept that anarchism had some validity as a "personal philosophy", I did not believe it had much to offer the working class movement and socialist revolutionary politics.

I had decided to do something on Spanish working class history for my Ph.D., so when my first supervisor, Jose M. Maravall, suggested I look at the C.N.T. during the repression of the 1940's, the idea attracted me. I wanted to do this, as far as possible, by talking to C.N.T. militants themselves and how they had experienced it. So I set-off for Spain in May, 1978 to interview as many militants as possible and get their impressions.

My first field-work stay, from May to September, 1978, was to be decisive in changing not only the type of thesis which I would eventually write, but my rather limited and prejudiced views on Spanish anarchism. Firstly, the idea of working on the 1940's appealed less and less. I had managed to track down a fair number of those who had been active in the period, but their narrative, (apart from the invaluable details they supplied) of imprisonment and personal tragedy, was extremely grim. But more importantly, on my visits to the local federation of trade unions, I discovered that the C.N.T. was almost in a state of war. Perplexed, but fascinated, I began to interview younger militants, not only to assess where they stood vis-à-vis the factional strife, but also to try to understand why they had joined the C.N.T. or why they considered themselves anarchists.

I did not limit myself solely to interviewing, but spent a great deal of time listening-in on debates, and discussing political problems with those who were interested in doing so. I discovered that I could not be wholly

honest with those who considered themselves the
"anarchist orthodoxy" - the very word ^{Marxism} was anathema
to them. However, there were those who were either
sympathetic, or merely non-sectarian, and were eager
to spend long hours in debate. It was through these
militants that I began to capture some of the comple-
xities of the Spanish libertarian movement. Moreover,
these militants impressed me deeply by their "personal
politics" - a great contrast to the type of "arrogant
politics" I had encountered during my own political lifetime.
Perhaps this was one of the most important reasons for
my growing interest in anarchism, and my search for an
historical evaluation of the C.N.T. But there were other
factors which influenced my decision to examine the
history of the C.N.T. in depth. For the debates which
were taking place within the C.N.T. were always argued
with reference to its history, rested on historical
precedent. If I wanted to make some sense out of what
was happening, then I would have to seriously look at
C.N.T. history and place these tendencies within some
sort of historical perspective.

I was now more interested in what was happening within
the C.N.T. during the period of transition from Francoist
dictatorship to some form of bourgeois democracy, the
period roughly between 1976 and 1979. I had become
intrigued with the debates within the organisation,
and the factions which espoused them. Was the C.N.T.
essentially a trade union, or was it a broader movement
for change ? What role could, or should it play during
the present period ? Moreover, I could not isolate these
years and present an empirical study of this three year
period. As I previously mentioned, the debates within the
C.N.T. were of an historical character, so I too was
forced to deal with them in this way. But there were
other influences at work as well. My increasing involvement

in the women's movement meant that the anarchist's insistence on the importance of "personal" politics, and the need for an "integral" revolutionary process found a greater resonance within my own political experience. However, my experience of these months in 1978 had shown that there were many different sorts of anarchists. Some were entrenched in an "orthodoxy" which I found to be as rigid as any other political ideology, others were of the "pasota" type (a Spanish term which could be roughly translated as "libertine" as opposed to libertarian), while there were others with whom I felt a great affinity, much to my amazement. This latter group was fairly heterogeneous. Many of them called for a dialogue with Marxism, or any other ideology which could shed light on the problems of the workers' movement. Others felt that Marxism had nothing to offer : the failure of the Russian revolution, they argued, had graphically demonstrated the "statist" nature of Marxist thought, and had shown the need for a libertarian response in the form of the widest possible local democracy. Moreover, they argued, Marxism had never been able to incorporate "psychological" factors, and therefore was extremely limited in its approach to the "whole" person. This was why their revolutions had failed.

These months had also demonstrated that the anarchist movement in Spain was of a very different type than the one I had experienced in Britain. There were of course groups within the C.N.T. that bore a great resemblance to the extreme "anti-organisational / anti-almost-everything" type that I had known here, whose main aim it seems is to decry everything that isn't "strictly anarchist" - a purely negative political approach. But the overwhelming majority of active militants whom I met in Spain were of a very different species.

I was not only impressed by their level of political discussion, but at their attempts to "live-out" their brand of socialism in their personal lives. I did, however, remain fairly critical, and learned a further lesson - the difficulty of relinquishing a particular ideological stance, of giving up the "truths" that one has come to almost live by. At the same time as I was impressed and interested in the debates taking place within the organisation, I was astounded by the organisational chaos that reigned. I was determined to try to understand why it had come to this sorry impasse, and luckily I was given both documents and information to help me to do this. But it meant that I was forced to look at the nature of the ^{bureaucracy} within the C.N.T., and how this had developed historically. I realised that I had probably "bitten off more than I could chew", but was, in a sense stuck with it, as I could see no other way of writing a piece of work which I felt was not only honest, but more importantly perhaps, would satisfy my own need for an explanation.

This was the state of play at the end of 1978. Before embarking on my next field-trip in 1979, I was determined to "place" these years, not just in terms of the history of the C.N.T. itself, but also within Spanish history. This meant that I brought new and somewhat different concerns to my interviewing in that year. Having myself lived under Franco, and felt some of the "ethos" of this period, I remembered how much discussion there had been around the question of sexuality, when Castillo del Pino (a psychoanalyst who attempted to link-up Marxism and psychoanalysis) had lectured to packed audiences. I remembered how difficult it had been for many young Spaniards to loosen ties with their families, to have sexual relationships without guilt and traumas, and how this was much more a "political" question, in the context

of repression, than in Western bourgeois / liberal democracies. This was bound to be taken-up more openly and wholeheartedly within the libertarian movement, and indeed, many of those I'd interviewed in 1978 had referred to this as one of the major factors for moving towards a libertarian position, or simply joining the C.N.T.

Another strand which I wished to explore on my second trip was the fairly widespread phenomenon that I had discovered within the C.N.T. during my stay in 1978 - the existence of numerous small groups which on the whole had their "leaders". This "group identity" syndrome had continued operating even when they adhered to the C.N.T., and had been the cause of much friction. Moreover, these groups covered a wide ideological spectrum, from "Marxist-libertarians" to Stirnian individualists, although the latter were extremely thin on the ground.

I spent most of my 1979 trip in Barcelona, with a short stay in Madrid. I had decided on Madrid for my first field-trip because the national committee resided there, and had gone on to Valencia briefly to interview the leader of the FAI, Juan Ferrer. The organisational crisis had deepened in the intervening year, and it now seemed likely that the organisation would split, (which it subsequently did at the 1979 Dec. Congress). I found it almost impossible to interview militants at the local federations of trade-unions, either because they were reluctant to speak to anyone, or because they were too embroiled in the factional conflict. So I decided to spend most of my time talking to members of the groups who had participated in the reconstruction process in 1976, many of whom had now left, or been expelled. At an informal level, however, I managed to keep abreast of the doings

of the "official" tendency and others allied to it, and established contact with some older militants who had worked within the official Francoist trade-unions, trade-unions which had entered the C.N.T. en block.

Barcelona was certainly a very different thing altogether. This had always been the centre of the libertarian movement and where it had had its greatest strength, and this could still be felt in many ways. Some C.N.T. trade-unions had reasonable strength here, and those of the "opposition" were in more leading positions. More surprisingly though, I discovered that there were many who could be considered as being within the "libertarian orbit" without actually joining the C.N.T.. Libertarian publications (which experienced a "boom" throughout Spain on the death of Franco) were fairly widely read and there were quite a few "anarchist" bars. However, the "pasota" influence was reasonably strong, which I discovered while attending a regional plenum on my arrival, but was also in evidence on the "Ramblas" and in the bars.

The violence I witnessed at this regional plenum really shocked me. "Opposition" members were being expelled at an astonishing rate, using the crudest of tactics. I was also in a rather awkward position. The "opposition" had always been more open about giving information, and certainly I felt more affinity with these individuals at a personal level. As a researcher, however, I had to keep-up contacts with all the groups within the organisation, and couldn't be seen to be "favouring", as it were, one particular tendency. Apart from that though, I wanted to try to understand why these groups acted with such vehemence and why they adopted such dogmatic positions. But it was almost impossible to interview members of these pro-official groups, although there were notable

exceptions. The whole situation depressed me, and I grew sick of catalogueing the series of expulsions, bureaucratic wranglings and other rather unpleasant goings-on taking place. It had ceased to be interesting, as it became increasingly predictable. I was merely a witness to the annihilation of the opposition, whose demise was inevitable. Luckily I had been given introductions to certain members of the groups who had taken part in the reconstruction process in 1976/77, and it was to these that I now turned my attention.

If the 1978 trip had somewhat altered my views of Spanish anarchism, the one in 1979 was more of a consolidation process, and led me to think much more about the Marxist/anarchist problematic. This was, of course, not simply fortuitous. My own political beliefs had been undermined both by my involvement in feminism and my contact with Spanish anarchism. However, it was something of a coincidence that many of the militants I interviewed in Barcelona that year were wrestling with fairly similar problems.

It was fascinating to discover how different militants evolved towards anarchism. To a greater extent than Madrid, militants in Barcelona had been involved in the workers' movement under Franco, and had been active within the Workers' Commissions, which increasingly became a Communist Party enclave. A frequent accusation against the Communist Party was that it had been "immoral", i.e. that it had "used" the workers' movement in show demonstrations for its own political ends. Moreover, they had not all agreed with the C.P. that the next stage was one of "bourgeois revolution", nor did they agree with the C.P. analysis of Spanish capitalism - essentially that Francoism was upheld by a small clique of monopolists,

while large sections of the bourgeoisie were for a democratic solution. This meant, they argued, that the C.P. tried to keep the workers' movement within certain bounds, attempting to tame and control it. Not that the "revolutionary left" was any better. While these militants were able to work with the "revolutionary left" at certain times, they too wished to "use" the workers to impose their own political solutions. The sheer number of these groups in Spain must have increased the tension. Each one, it seemed, had a perfectly worked-out programme, which would, as if by magic, install the millenium. "The Party" and the "programme" became unassailable truths, like tablets of stone, handed-down to the faithful in an exaggerated jargonistic way. The "worker" became a mere abstraction, just part of an overall equation.

The level of violence within these "revolutionary left" groups was quite astonishing, and forced me to view the violence I'd experienced within the C.N.T. in the wider perspective of Spanish political life. One militant had had to "lie low" for about a year, as the factional fighting within the Maoist group to which he belonged had already claimed one victim. Another had had to flee the country, returning under a false name.

On the whole, there wasn't, on the part of these militants, an immediate anarchist embrace. On the contrary, most of them worked within their trade-unions as "independents". There was, however, a general feeling of "looking around" an openness to other political currents. One group set-up a reading circle where Rosa Luxembourg, Pannekoek and other "dissident" Marxists were read. Interestingly enough, this group was called "What is to be done". The "discovery" of Spanish anarchism came about in different ways for different people. There were, of course, personal contacts.

Older anarchists in their neighbourhoods, for example, would recount their experiences, particularly those of the Civil War, and the collectives. Through these, contacts were made with anarchist groups in France. The Perpignan group of the C.N.T. (which had split from the "official" body some years back) impressed these militants enormously. Their help seemed disinterested : they didn't attempt to impose their views on what should be done. More importantly, their personal lives, and generally their personal relationships, seemed to offer an alternative to the deeply-entrenched "authoritarianism" displayed by militants of political parties. Others, however, were more sceptical. After their experiences within the Workers' Commissions, they felt it was best to be completely non-aligned.

Another source of information about the Spanish libertarian movement came from the publishers ZYX. The latter began to publish a series of texts which were to be crucial in disseminating the history of the libertarian movement, a movement virtually unknown to many. Above all else, the experience of the collectives impressed itself upon them. In these they believed they had found an indigenous alternative way of organising ^{one} and which moreover, had been reasonably successful. This is one of the few questions on which all members of the various groups agreed i.e. the importance of the collectives. Otherwise, the ideological framework varied considerably from group to group, and even from person to person. Some militants were unimpressed by their readings of Bakunin and Kropotkin, and in no way did they want to be considered anarchists (this attitude was reinforced considerably after their experience within the C.N.T. and their dealings with the anarchist "orthodoxy"). Others felt that they had found their "ideological niche" in these writers,

while others felt greater affinity with the Italian school of Malatesta, Fabbri and the hero of their own Civil War, Berneri.

There was, of course, a certain "68" flavour to all of this, although the influence were less important than I originally thought. The Spanish situation had its own "time-scale", which didn't correspond exactly with the May '68 movement. On the one hand, it could be said that their own equivalent began much earlier, in 1967, while some of the ideas which some of the Spanish libertarians were to espouse didn't cross the Pyrenees till the early '70's. On the whole though, most of the Barcelona militants (a serious bunch in the main) felt that May '68 was a peculiarly French phenomenon, and didn't think that it had much to say to Spain. May '68 did however confirm what many of them had been thinking anyway, and found a sympathetic hearing.

These militants joined the C.N.T. believing it offered the best alternative to the reformism of the Communist Party, and the "ultra-left" sectarianism of the Trotskyist-Maoist left. The C.N.T., they argued, had always been a broad Church. What mattered was that one accepted the principles of workers' autonomy and direct action, which had, more than anything else, defined the anarcho-syndicalist organisation. Workers' unity was one of the main aims of all these groups, who felt that the C.N.T. tradition of organising at the point of production i.e. along economic lines, was the way to achieve it.

They were not willing to accept, however, that these principles could be simply resurrected, after almost forty years of historical development, and applied dogmatically to the present situation. After all, this was one of the reasons they'd come to the C.N.T. - to

find a "place" where principles were not mechanically applied. Direct action, for example, had to be redefined in the context of the changed relationship between the state and the workers' organisations, a legacy of Francoist "dirigismo". Calling for a boycott of trade-union elections would not find the response that political abstentionism had done during the 1930's. As for workers' autonomy -- yes, it was applicable at times and in particular struggles, but that didn't preclude a national structuring of trades, ever more necessary in the context of the developments within international capitalism.

These groups, who, despite their other differences, could be classified as the pro-syndicalists, were astonished to find the level of resistance their ideas met. They discovered that the libertarian organisation had its bureaucracy, its saints and its tablets of stone. Lumped together indiscriminately as "Marxists", they were not even allowed to carry-on their trade-union work. Finally the majority were expelled, or worn-down.

The pro-syndicalists were not the only ones forced to leave. Even those who held to a strictly libertarian conception i.e. a total rejection of Marxism, scepticism about the revolutionary potential of trade-unions etc., were not accepted within the organisation as "true" anarchists. This was primarily because these groups also called for an up-dating of anarchism. Critical of the C.N.T.'s participation in the Popular Front government, very aware of the bureaucratisation that had taken place from then onwards, and with their emphasis on the "integral" revolution, they too were seen as threats to "the essence of the C.N.T.".

While there was an ideological battle going on within the organisation, I increasingly saw it as a smoke-screen -- a way of making palatable (and, in the process, gaining adherents) the blatant attempt to maintain control.

There is little doubt that the C.N.T. was almost over-run with all sorts of elements who wished to gain a foothold in the leadership. Trotskyist "entrists", police spies, "pasotas" and others, all had their plans vis-à-vis C.N.T. committees and policies. However, from the information I'd obtained during my two trips, it was evident that the leadership was willing to ally itself with Marxists, "pasotas", or whoever, when it wanted to smash a particular oppositional faction. Its policies too seemed to be taken "in contradistinction to" those of the main opposition.

It was, of course hardly surprising that a bureaucracy should have developed after forty years in exile. A similar process had affected the Socialists, who, however, had overthrown their elders in the early 70's. It was not that all militants were unaware of this. In fact, there was enormous reluctance to enter the organisation for this very reason. But one group especially believed that, as a plethora of groups, there was little chance of the anarcho-syndicalist option taking off. This group, Solidarity, argued that they needed the C.N.T. initials, the tradition and "aura" of the organisation, and felt that the groups were sufficiently numerous to dictate terms within the reconstructed C.N.T.

The bureaucracy, however, fought tenaciously, and used all sorts of "dirty tricks" to maintain its position. The ferocity of this battle totally astounded these militants. One of their hopes had been that a dialogue and possibly a compromise could be reached -- after all, weren't they libertarians and settled disputes this way ?

It was clear then that the C.N.T. was little different from other trade-union and political organisations. The "sacred" nature of the organisation had to be defended at all costs, principles upheld and dissidents expelled. Was this the result of almost forty years of exile ? Some militants

argued that this process had begun during the Civil War, others that it had existed throughout the history of the C.N.T. This was something that I was to spend the next year working on, and came to the tentative conclusion that while it was difficult to speak of an entrenched bureaucracy before the Civil War, (and the latter did contribute considerably to the bureaucratisation process, for fairly obvious reasons) it always had its entrenched "orthodoxy", the defenders of the anarchist faith, who would admit to no redefinition of what they considered to be the "essence" of anarchism.

The similarity with Stalinism and many of the Trotskyist groups was striking. Both Marxist and anarchist wings of the workers' movement seem to suffer from the same disease : intransigent defence of the "faith" at all costs. However, the attempts at renewal within Marxism are fairly well-known, while the general assumption about anarchism is that its basic tenets have not changed, since Bakunin in the late 19th century. I myself held to a fairly similar view at the start of my research, and was very surprised to find the degree to which the "orthodoxy" had been challenged from within its own ranks. In fact, many of the criticisms Marxists made of anarchism were also made by fellow-libertarians, who, of course could be dispensed with under the rubric of "Marxist deviants".

No one would dare say that Stalinism and the more rigid of the Trotskyist sects represented the sum total of Marxist thought. On the contrary, many would argue that the most interesting contributions to Marxism have come from outside of these currents. This has increasingly been the case since the Second World War, though the '68 experience has greatly speeded-up the process. Anarchism has not however been viewed with the same type of understanding, and the "orthodox" brand of anarchism has come to be seen

as synonymous with anarchism itself.

This is hardly surprising, given the dominance of Marxism within the workers' movement since the Russian revolution in 1917, and many of the anarchists one encounters in Western Europe seem to confirm the Marxist critique that anarchism is primarily a negative response and a relic from a by-gone era. The Spanish case is unique in that anarchism remained a potent and enduring working-class ideology, continually tested in practice, till 1939. Increasingly, I began to feel that the Marxist critique of anarchism did not hold up very well for Spain, or at most could only be levelled at one section of the anarchist movement i.e. the "orthodoxy". A critique of Stalinism has not meant that the whole of Marxism has been written-off, yet this is exactly what has occurred with anarchism.

There was, too, yet another Marxist assertion about anarchism which did not correspond to my experiences in Spain. The organisational chaos which ensued after the C.N.T. was reconstructed in 1976, and the subsequent split and virtual demise of the organisation in 1979, seemed to prove the Marxist point that anarchism was primarily an agrarian movement and had little chance of success in advanced industrial society. True, the organisation was in a mess, as I would readily admit. However, there were a substantial number of experienced militants within the organisation who had reasonable success in setting-up trade-unions and took part in many of the wild-cat strikes during the 1976-1978 period. In fact, in some of these struggles the C.N.T. was the moving force. Much of this trade-union work was disrupted if not totally boycotted, by the bureaucracy's attempts to keep these militants out of the trade-unions. As many militants commented, it was as if the bureaucracy did not want the C.N.T. to be a success, or at any rate it was subordinated to their primary aim of keeping control.

There is little doubt that there would have been many difficulties in trying to weld together the many disparate groups even without the interference of the bureaucracy, and it has to remain as one of the "ifs" of history if this would have been possible. I can only say that I was surprised at the degree of tolerance I experienced. Many pro-syndicalists for example, were quite willing to accept the presence within the organisation of those who were sceptical, if not downright hostile, to the syndicalist approach. As long as they didn't hinder trade-union work, they accepted the fact that within a libertarian organisation there would be many who would be happier working within groups, cultural centres, the Free Women movement and other branches of the libertarian movement. On the contrary, while they considered the trade unions to be the most important arena of struggle, they believed that the contacts with the rest of the libertarian movement were of considerable importance. The trade-union was part of the movement for change, albeit for them the most crucial. At the anecdotal level, on many occasions I was present at meetings where anarcho-communists, pro-syndicalists and "counter-culture" anarchists took part in interesting but heated debates, which usually ended-up with a comradely drink in the bar.

There were, moreover, other factors, specific to the 1976-1979 transitional period, which made the organisational tasks extremely difficult, to say the least. After the long repression of the Francoist era, there was a veritable libertarian "boom", when hundreds of thousands attended anarchist meetings, and swamped the organisation. This perhaps has always been one of the problems historically within the C.N.T. i.e. its "open" recruitment policy. In the past however, this has usually been counter-balanced by the strength of the trade-union organisations. Moreover, this type of "boom" had no historical precedent, but was directly linked to the previous era. Now, with the organisation

falteringly attempting to set up trade-unions, and generally get the organisation off the ground, it lacked the structure to deal with this influx. While condemning these "pasota " types vehemently, the bureaucracy secretly did deals with some of the leaders of these groups at certain times when it meant that it could score a point over the opposition. There is little doubt that the existence of these types within the organisation discredited it enormously, many workers refusing to have anything to do with it for this reason. I have heard of a case where the workers' representative from the C.N.T. smoked dope during a joint trade-union meeting, and another where the "pasota" at the local federation refused membership to a worker because he didn't consider him an "anarchist".

Government policy vis-à-vis the C.N.T. was also an important factor in its demise. For a while it seemed that perhaps the C.N.T. could be used as the "anti-communist" card against the Workers' Commissions, but as that role was not taken-up by the C.N.T., government policy suffered a radical reversal. It was easy to present the C.N.T. as a sloppy/hippy type organisation or as an "anarcho-terrorist" one, and certain unexplained bombings were laid at its door.

These attempts to discredit the organisation were successful, and certainly widened the rift between the opposition and the bureaucracy. They perhaps would not have acquired the significance they did had the context been different. For the years 1978-1979 witnessed a sharp downturn in workers' struggle, which demoralised militants from all political organisations. It was not just the C.N.T. which underwent a "crisis" in these years, but indeed the whole of the left, including the Communist Party. In view of the above factors, it seemed that there wasn't a watertight case to support the Marxist view about anarchism in advanced industrial society.

It had certainly shown that it had its problems, but so too had others on the left. In fact, its strength in Catalonia far outstripped the Maoist and Trotskyist groupings, and its sympathisers were fairly numerous. That this could happen after almost forty years of absence, and without the international backing that the Socialists and Communists enjoyed, was no mean achievement.

This led me on, inexorably, to the whole question, "why anarchism in Spain" ? There were those who argued, even within the anarchist movement, that the response the C.N.T. had in 1976-78 showed that something in the Spanish character propelled it towards anarchism. Yet I believed that the re-birth of Spanish anarchism at this time could be located fairly specifically to a particular historical period and the political problems of the time. It had been crucial, of course that the libertarian tradition existed. One of the things which struck me most was that if many of the militants I'd known had been somewhere else where this tradition had not existed they would never have considered themselves "anarchists". What impressed these people was not so much the theoretical underpinnings of the C.N.T., but its tradition of radical opposition, and its espousal of workers' control and democracy.

There are other objections to this view. It is patently obvious that all Spaniards are not anarchists, otherwise the Civil War would never have happened. Spain also possessed a strong Socialist movement, while the Communist Party has grown continuously since the 1930's. A more refined variation on the "national character" analysis has to be taken more seriously i.e. that it fits the "Catalan / Mediterranean" character. My Marxist bent meant that I could not accept this type of explanation., though it is undeniable that the C.N.T. was viewed, not just in Catalonia but in the rest of Spain, as the "Catalan trade-union". When interviewing older militants,

many of them, on being asked why they hadn't joined the Socialist UGT had replied : "What, join a Madrid trade union ?".

This of course brought up the whole question of Spanish centralism and the national / regional problem. The C.N.T. had had its greatest strength in the peripheral provinces, but above all in Catalonia. The fact that Catalonia was the most industrialised part of Spain, and that its capital, Barcelona, was the centre of the anarchist movement, seems to belie the Marxist view that anarchism is primarily agrarian. It did of course, have its agrarian side : Andalusia, the province par excellence of Latifundio, had a continuing anarchist presence since the 1870's. However, the Socialists had been making increasing inroads here since the 1920's while during the Republic of 1931 - 1936, their Landworkers' Federation became the dominant agrarian organisation in the south. Another interesting paradox, which also showed the problems of the Marxist view, was the fact that the C.N.T. did not become a mass movement in Catalonia until the First World War, when Spain, which remained neutral, underwent considerable industrial expansion.

These were the problems which now interested me most, and I believed that the only way I could hope to deal with them was through history. For the classical definition of the nature of anarchism has been based on a static, abstract analysis, which implied that anarchism had been "superceded" by Marxism, the "true" and only ideology of the working class. The Spanish case has demonstrated that this is not necessarily the case, and that what anarchism "meant" at any particular historical period can not be deduced from an abstract "nature of" type argument.

From my experience in 1978-79 I discovered that ^{anarchism} meant very different things for very different people, but united them on the basis of a certain kind of political action, and was always related to other available ideologies. I could not "read back" into history some of the conclusions I'd reached for the post-Francoist period. What this period had demonstrated however, was that anarchism, as a particular form of political action, has to be seen in a historical relationship with Marxism, as the competing form of political action. That anarchism had managed to maintain an important presence in Spain until the 1930's, where everywhere else it had been reduced to impotence, says something about the nature of the Spanish state, but also about the relevance of Marxist political strategy in Spain, and the nature of its main competitor, the Spanish Socialist Party.

This led me to look more closely at Marxist and anarchist theory and their political strategies, and in so doing, discovered that there were problems in applying the Marxist type of political action in certain regions of Spain, right up to the 1930's. Unlike other countries, Spain had in the anarchist movement an alternative tradition which "contested" this, and proposed its own form of political action which had greater meaning and possibilities in the context of the Spanish militaristic / bureaucratic / centralist state. For anarchism allowed many different types of political action, like terrorism, which could not be contained within Marxism. Its "open-endedness" was, I believe, one of its greatest strengths : Catalan syndicalists, southern anarcho-communists and terrorists could co-exist within the same movement, albeit uneasily. This was crucial in Spain, where regions differed so greatly from one another, in terms of their level of economic, social and political development.

There are of course many other and important factors which may help to explain the success of anarchism in Spain, and I hope to develop these in the corresponding chapter. There is one however which I would like to mention here, as I believe it crucial in understanding the anarchist success in certain regions of Spain. One of the most curious paradoxes of Spanish history is why the Socialist movement, in a country where there was great class polarisation, and where parliamentary struggle was almost non-existent till the Republic in 1931, should be of a social-democratic character. Perhaps this was "the other side" of anarchism, with its clientele of labour aristocrats in Madrid. It did of course organise among the Asturian miners and the Basque industrial workers, but it often found the radicalism of these provinces difficult to control. During the Asturian Commune of 1934, the Madrid leadership either hid in their houses, or fled. With its bureaucratic centralism and centre in Madrid, the contrast could not be greater with the anarchist movement, with its commitment to local autonomy and federalism, with its centre in Barcelona.

By this long circuitous route I almost arrived back at my starting-point. For one of the main things which had impressed me, in 1978 and 1979, and which forced me to question most of the Marxist critiques of anarchism, was how contemporary the nature of the debates within sectors of the C.N.T. were. For many of the militants who joined the C.N.T. had come to anarchism because of the inadequacies they felt were inherent to Marxism, particularly the political practice associated with Leninism. This growing unease felt with Leninist assumptions and its form of "politics" was also being felt in other countries of Europe, especially since 1968, and under the impact of feminist criticism, which my own personal political experience reflected. This was allied to a recognition of the strength of Western European capitalism,

and the great differences between the nature of Russian society, both economically, culturally and politically, and the societies of Western Europe. I remember trying to grapple with the various theories put forth on the "nature of Soviet socialism" - was it a "state capitalist" regime, a "deformed workers' state", or an entirely new type of social formation, where the bureaucracy / party formed the "new ruling class" ? The obsession with the Soviet experience was not fortuitous. For while most of us on the left continued to extoll the virtues of a system which had brought great material advancement for the large majority of the Russian masses, there was no denying that this type of "socialism" had no appeal for us, nor did we believe, for workers in Western Europe.

The questioning of Leninist assumptions, and their practical application in the Soviet Union, came for me and for many, through a long history of involvement in Leninist politics. We, like many of the militants who eventually joined the C.N.T., had been led into a theoretical study of Leninism primarily because we found the political practice of the Leninist groups deeply unsatisfying. This produced in Europe, as in Spain, a greater interest in the "non-Leninist" tradition within Marxism, and the potential perhaps it contained for an alternative type of political practice. But in Spain there existed, within the C.N.T., a tradition which had historically opposed Leninist theory and practice, and I discovered, much to my amazement, that its theoretical underpinnings were almost identical to the "dissident Marxist" tradition which was now viewed more sympathetically in Western Europe.

This thesis, in many important respects, is the outcome of my own political search. But I do not believe that the problems which I was increasingly forced to address

- particularly the inability of Marxism to incorporate "personal" politics - were problems which were purely the result of my own "subjective" experience, as developments in Spain and other countries of Europe seem to prove. In this political quest I discovered that anarchism could "fill the gaps" where Marxism seemed lacking, and likewise, that some of the most glaring inadequacies of anarchism can be "made good" by the use of Marxist method. This need for a "fusion" of Marxism and anarchism was one that was perceived by many of the militants who participated in the reconstruction of the C.N.T. during 1976-1979. Their inability to achieve this was not, I believe, due to the paucity of their theory, but largely because of the weight of a certain tradition within the C.N.T., and the bureaucracy it had spawned, within the context of "psychological euphoria" which accompanied the political transition to democracy in Spain. Indeed, the re-emergence of anarchism in Spain, and the reconstruction of the C.N.T. cannot be understood without recourse to Marxist historical method, and the "psychological" approach of anarchism. By attempting to "fuse" both Marxist and anarchist approaches, I hope that my thesis itself will be testimony to the fruitfulness of such a union.

CHAPTER 1.

The Historic Spanish Anarchist Movement, 1868-1939.

CHAPTER I: THE HISTORIC SPANISH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT: 1868-1939

In this chapter I attempt to refute the most pervasive and erroneous approaches to Spanish anarchism - primarily the "classical" Marxist and messianic interpretations - and lay the basis for an approach which centres the anarchist success in Spain in the relationship between capitalist development, the state and the political process, and takes into account the ideology and political practice of anarchism's main opponent, Marxism.

The millenarian/religious interpretation of Brennan and Hobsbawm rests on the notion of sporadic, messianic anarchist activity and insurrections, often prompted by some new idea penetrating the otherwise inert and uneducated day-labourers of the southern latifundio, who, forsaken by the Church, turn to the anarchist saints and prophets for redemption. Neither writer pays much attention to Catalan industrial anarchism, which, I believe, is of greater historical importance. Indeed, Brennan sees the radicalisation of Catalonia taking place through the constant influx of Andalusian immigrants who kept the flames of anarchism alive in this otherwise "moderate" trade union ambience.

As the work of Temma Kaplan has shown, for North Cadiz province at least, the anarchists in that province considered their main task as organising the workers in trade unions and developed a strategy and tactics which were by no means "irrational" in the context of the south. Insurrectionary activity did of course continue, but this type of action has to be seen in the light of a more modern, extremely popular and vigorous political

movement, Republicanism, which had made considerable inroads in the south and Catalonia. Indeed, one of the "millenarian" insurrections cited by Hobsbawm, that of 1861 at Loja, was one in which the Democrats had played an important part. Insurrectionary politics, with its secret societies and feverish conspiratorial activity, was not limited to Spain in the nineteenth century, but engulfed most of Europe, particularly France and Italy, and was part of a general European attempt to bring about democratic change.

Undoubtedly it was Bakunin's attempts to link-up with this tradition and establish a whole network of contacts, which was important in founding the first anarchist section in Spain. If this insurrectionary tradition survived longer than elsewhere in Europe, then it has to be located, not in the religious feelings of the Spanish masses, nor to anarchist thinking, but in the nature of the Spanish state and capitalism, with its moribund political system, which resisted all attempts at reform until the coming of the Republic in 1931. More than any other country of Europe, Spain in the 19th. century was affected by the prosecution of war : the Independence Wars in Latin America and Civil War in Spain itself. Moreover, political crisis was almost continuous throughout the nineteenth century, but unlike other countries of Europe, a new "equilibrium" was not achieved through an extension of democratic rights. On the contrary, the 1874 Settlement, an attempt to end the political turmoil of the earlier part of the century, was an alliance of all the ruling groups, under the leadership of the capitalist latifundists whose political system of patronage politics, "caciquismo", a system inherited from the seventeenth century, assured their position of power and privilege. This system however, contained certain weaknesses : with its bureaucratic and political centre in Madrid, located in Castille, a region in decline since the seventeenth century, it was frequently

contested by the more dynamic peripheral regions, particularly Catalonia, from the turn of the century. Although it weathered this political storm until 1931, the system continued to be characterised by political instability and crises throughout these years.

Political crises and the war : Radicalising factors for
the Spanish workers' movement.

The almost continuous political crises and the prosecution of war greatly radicalised the embryonic workers' movement in nineteenth century Spain. This was particularly the case in those regions which registered a new social dynamic, with a commercial and / or industrial bourgeoisie, the ports of Cadiz, in Andalusia, and Barcelona in Catalonia. These regions were particularly affected by Republican insurrectionary attempts to bring about political change in the nineteenth century, aided by the popular masses, whose role within this process increased dramatically as the century progressed.

The greater role which the popular masses played in Spain was due to the extreme weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie, and its lack of a democratic and independent tradition, whose earlier opposition was easily silenced by the new share-out of the spoils in the Restoration Settlement of 1874. Moreover, the development of the Spanish bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century coincided with the development of the workers' movement, increasingly under the leadership of the Federal Republicans, the radicalised petit bourgeoisie. The fear of workers' power which was demonstrated in these developments can account for the intransigence of Spanish employers, whether urban or rural, to the demands of the labour movement, even the basic right of association, and also meant that it opted for compromise with the traditional elites, safeguard against revolutionary change.

Indeed, against the "millenarian" notion which sees the backwardness of the Spanish workers' movement, particularly in Andalusia, as the reason for the success of anarchism, a "backward agrarian" creed, I argue that it was the development and growth in consciousness of that movement which assured anarchism's success in the nineteenth century, especially in Andalusia. For the latter region had been one of the principal centres of Republican activity throughout the nineteenth century, and had a long history of craft organisation. The changes brought about by capitalist exploitation of the land, a process which lasted throughout the century, and its accompaniment by increased state coercion, particularly the creation of a special force to safeguard the landowners' property, the Civil Guard, were further radicalising factors, as was the continuous drain on popular human resources, conscripted to fight the almost endless wars which Spain was involved in during the century.

Trade Union organising and state repression.

As Kaplan has shown in her work on North Cadiz, in Andalusia, the growing concentration of the wine industry and the decline in handicrafts (which followed the influx of foreign manufactured goods) which occurred during the nineteenth century were contested by petty producers and skilled and unskilled workers forming political trade unions. The main aim of these unions was to re-establish workers' control over production, and many of them grew out of the old guilds which had been strongly organised till the late 18th. century. Unlike these older forms of organisation however, the new trade unions could unite petty producers and skilled and unskilled workers against the large capitalists in a given trade. This 'popular alliance', under the banner of collectivism, was a conscious strategy pursued by anarchist trade union leaders to counteract the pull of bourgeois politics. The alliance was possible however, because of the "fluid" nature of social class categories, and the fact that

most of the population lived in towns where there was little distinction between rural and urban proletarians and poor small-holders. Kaplan also notes the continuity of the union movement as many of the old crafts became industrialised, suggesting the great flexibility of the movement as it adapted to capitalist production.

Indeed Kaplan and other writers point to the connections between government attempts to crush the unions and insurrection. Attempts by the government to smash the unions seem to be the immediate cause of the insurrections of 1873 and 1883. The most important uprising of the period at Jerez in 1892, occurred after field hands had attempted several times to form a new union of agricultural workers, and appeared to have been an insurrection for the right to associate. It was this repeated denial of the right of association which would bring about great changes within the anarchist movement, and lead it inexorably towards more radical and violent tactics.

Catalonia : industrialisation and trade unionism.

If the level of development of the Andalusian popular movement can account for anarchisms' success there, then that other region where anarchism was to find an important resonance, Catalonia, was the most industrialised Spanish region, and one moreover which had the most developed trade union organisation prior to the arrival of the Anarchist International. The failure of the federal revolts of 1869, and the role which the Federal Republicans had failed to play in these, as in Andalusia, was important in winning working class leaders to the anarchist cause. The arrival of the anarchist section at this particular time, during the euphoria which accompanied the important revolution of 1868, was of crucial importance in establishing the first generation of anarchist leaders.

The Spanish Anarchist Federation : from 1870 to 1911.

The first years of the Anarchist Federation were characterised by extreme moderation in practice, whatever theoretical tenets the leadership held vis-à-vis insurrectionary strike action.

Indeed these years of the "scientific" strike were ones during which the leadership attempted to control a membership which was resorting ever more frequently to strike action. As the 1873 revolution demonstrated, the leadership was aware that involvement in insurrectionary attempts were doomed to failure. Nevertheless, the Anarchist Federation was caught-up in the proletarian attempts to seize power in Alcoy and Sanlucar de Barrameda, towns with a long tradition of radical working class activity.

Undoubtedly there were differences within the leadership over the tactics to pursue, but these did not surface until the organisation was forced into clandestinity after the failure of the Federal Republican experiment of 1873. For the first time calls to violence were made, though these were not carried out by the organisation itself, but by groups of workers and peasants in the south, unhappy with the legalist trade union orientation of the Catalan leadership. It was also during the clandestine period from 1874 to 1881 that the notion of "secret groups" began to gain ground, and the leadership gave itself new powers. Government repression had exposed the severe limitations of open trade union organising and thus brought into question the revolutionary potential of the trade union, and the strategy which the federation had pursued till then.

Of course, the conviction that "secret groups" of anarchists were needed alongside legal trade unions had existed from

the inception of the movement. Bakunin's idea of leadership, that groups of revolutionaries were needed to instill "ideas into the masses", was taken-up by the first generation of Spanish anarchists who set-up the secret "Alliance" prior to the holding of the first congress in Barcelona in 1870. But the expansion and growth of the "Alliance" really got underway after the first period of clandestinity in 1871, and persuaded even those formally hostile to such developments that secret groups were necessary to protect the existence of the organisation. This structure of "secret groups" and trade union organising was to characterise the Spanish anarchist movement throughout its history, and reflects not so much Bakunin's thinking, as Spanish political reality, and the need for organisational continuity.

The adoption of anarcho-communism in the 1880's seemed to resolve many of the problems which had beset the federation during its early years, graphically demonstrated by the reaction of the Catalan reformist leadership to the repression of 1883. Undoubtedly the existence within the federation of southern landworkers - indeed they now formed the majority - who called for the end to legalist tactics and a more militant and violent action against employers, forced a re-think amongst anarchist leaders, many of whom were none too happy about "reformist" developments both north and south. In North Cadiz province at least "the community of the poor", an anarcho-communist tactic, was carried-out in order to "resolve" the contradictions between a "reformist" trade unionism and the mass of the poor community and was designed to put stronger "political" pressure on the ruling groups.

Indeed, anarcho-communism seemed to address the two evils which had developed within the Anarchist Federation from 1870, reformism and bureaucracy.

For the fierce repression which followed the Mano Negra incident - a repression totally out of keeping with the event itself - reaffirmed fundamental anarchist principles on the nature of the state, and led to a renewal of anarchist thought, enshrined in anarcho-communism. For Kropotkin and Malatesta attempted to call attention to the terrible plight of rural workers who were undergoing severe recession and being ignored by the "reformist" trade unions throughout Europe. Their stress on solidarity and democracy, principles which were being violated by the Catalan leadership, were those which convinced anarchist leaders that there could be no return to the bureaucratic and legalist road of the early years of the Anarchist Federation.

This "anarcho-communist" component would be of crucial importance within the Spanish anarchist labour movement. Its fear of "selfish syndicalism", with its bureaucracies and hierarchies, played an important part in many decisions taken vis-à-vis organisation. At the Sans Congress of 1918 for example, the fear that the development of mass unionism would mean a corresponding growth in bureaucracy led to the decision to continue the practice of non-remuneration of officials, thus ensuring that one of the major obstacles to revolutionary change was averted. Moreover, the greater importance given to the commune in the anarcho-communist schema has meant that anarchist militants have rarely limited their activities to the trade union front, but have attempted to address other issues of concern to the worker, such as housing and education.

Other developments within the workers' movement militated against reformist currents within the Anarchist Federation in the 1880's and 1890's. Indeed, the adoption of anarcho-communism coincided with the growth of nascent revolutionary syndicalism, (with the agitation around the eight-hour day), manifested by the growth of long and violent strikes in the late 1880's and early 1890's. There is undoubtedly a great similarity between revolutionary syndicalism and anarcho-communism, as both call for a revolutionary "war

to the death" against the bourgeoisie and are implacably hostile to legalist methods. Government repression, political crises and the intransigence of the employers were the principal causes of this radicalisation, and led to the development of a "new type" of organisation, more egalitarian and democratic in its organisational practice, and less inhibited in using violence to achieve its ends.

This more militant syndicalism which was germinating during these years reflected the changes taking place within Spanish capitalism, with the growth of the large bourgeoisie, strongly organised in their associations and thus able to force workers into submission by the tactic of the lock-out. Increasing mechanisation was threatening certain sections of workers and their control over the production process, while simultaneously creating new industries, particularly public transport, which recruited new and young workers who were often at the forefront of trade union struggles. This was the period of the growth in consciousness of both the bourgeoisie and the working class. - the scale and duration of strikes at this time manifest the development of the class struggle in Catalonia which would reach its zenith during the revolutionary period which followed the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

And it was the development of the class struggle in Catalonia from the 1890's which allowed the anarchist tactic of militant direct-action syndicalism to achieve a greater measure of success, despite anarchist involvement in terrorism during the same period. Indeed I would argue that the Catalan workers' movement was further radicalised by almost continuous state repression during the 1890's, a repression on occasions made possible by terrorist acts of the state itself. The use of terrorism and repression by the state brings up the whole question of the relationship of the working class movement to terrorism, in the context of minimum legal redress and a strongly organised and

intransigent employer class. Certainly these same years registered increased support for the anarchists in Catalonia, and a decline in the fortunes of their rival, the Socialist Party. For the loss of the colonies at the turn of the century led to a dramatic development of consciousness amongst the Catalan bourgeoisie who now launched an offensive against the workers' organisations in an attempt to resolve their production problems.

And it was in response to this all-out offensive by the employers that the tactic of the general strike was used by the anarchists. This was not a "millenarian" gesture, but the principal reason for the success of anarchism at the turn of the century. The 1902 general strike, an attempt to halt the employers' offensive in Barcelona, reflected the level of development of both the bourgeoisie and the working class, and the high level of class conflict which obtained.

The defeat of the 1902 general strike in Catalonia led to the demise of the workers' movement in Catalonia, and its leaders, the anarchists. The scale of this defeat is crucial in explaining the turn to "politics" by Catalan workers, and the involvement of anarchists in political conspiracy. For the years from 1902 saw the appearance in Catalonia of regionalism, terrorism and political intrigue which reflected the crisis of the central state and its inability to enforce its dictates in Catalonia which led to drastic efforts to control the province : the suspension of constitutional guarantees in January 1908. That this did not have the desired effect can be seen in the development of a major state crisis in Barcelona in July 1909, when labour unrest and anti-war feeling combined to produce a movement of revolutionary proportions. This situation was re-enacted at a national level in September 1911, again

brought into being by massive strike action and anti-conscription riots. As in 1909, the restoration of order was entrusted to the army and the Civil Guard.

The workers' movement, fused in Solidaridad Obrera from 1907, was the major force behind the revolutionary general strike of 1909 in Catalonia, called after the employers had refused to negotiate. The general strike was radicalised however, by the calling-up of reservists for Morocco, and meant that even sections of the middle classes would view the strike sympathetically.

The years of 1909-1911 revealed the growing distance between the two major working class forces in Catalonia, the anarchists and the Socialists. It is by no means a coincidence that the increased support which the Socialists received through Solidaridad Obrera from 1907 coincided with the development of a revolutionary syndicalist current within the Catalan Socialist Party, which laid the basis for the revolutionary strike with the anarchists in 1909. But the direction which the national organisation of the Socialists would pursue during the events of 1909 and 1911 - a direction of extreme moderation and eventually electoral struggle - would bring to an end this short period of joint endeavour, and by way of reaction, radicalise the syndicalist leadership of Solidaridad Obrera and contribute greatly to reinforce its anti-politicism.

The Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, founded in 1911, and committed to a militant direct-action syndicalism, was the organisational expression of the radicalisation which had taken place within the anarchist movement from the 1880's. For the years from the mid-1880's had reaffirmed fundamental anarchist principles on the nature of the state and bourgeois parliamentary politics, and had forged a syndicalism which could do battle with a bourgeoisie which

ignored the state's authority over its industrial affairs. The anarchists' dealings with the Socialist Party had also contributed to this development, and undoubtedly helped convince anarchist leaders that the bureaucratic developments affecting the Socialists should not take place within their organisation. Indeed, these dealings and strengthened egalitarian and extreme democratic anarchist notions vis-à-vis organisational practice, which would be of considerable importance in accounting for the anarchists' success in Catalonia.

The "Millenarian" and Marxist notions re-visited.

It is in the light of these developments that we should re-examine the "millenarian" and Marxist interpretations of Spanish anarchism, both of which rest on the notion of anarchism as an agrarian, pre-industrial petit bourgeois phenomenon, which succeeded in implanting in Spain because of the "backward" agrarian nature of Spanish society. Both these approaches take Western Europe as their reference of "development" and equate the "underdevelopment" of industry and the predominance of agriculture with an "underdeveloped" workers' movement. In the light of historical development it is clear that it has not been in the "developed" countries of Western Europe where the contradictions of capitalist development have been most strongly felt, but in those countries, like Russia, with a weak industrial bourgeoisie, a small, but highly combatant proletariat, and large numbers of peasants and landworkers, radicalised by the crisis on the land.

The early years of the Spanish labour movement did not differ substantially from that of other industrialising states in Europe. The growth of associationism, trade unions and cooperatives, and the first four years of the

Anarchist Federation itself, showed that the main aim of these years was one of "consciousness-building" through organisation. But this strategy was slowly undermined by government repression, political instability the intransigence of employers and lack of reform, which led to the adoption of a militant, and often violent syndicalism, extremely democratic and egalitarian in tone. Against the Marxist interpretation which sees this syndicalism "out of step" with the real historical process, this syndicalism was undoubtedly the best, and perhaps the only, tactic that could hope to win against the employers.

Indeed, this type of syndicalism made more sense as Spanish history unfolded, for this "new" militant syndicalism was developed during the period of greater industrialisation and changes in the productive process during the 1890's, and coincided with the growth in consciousness and organisation of the Catalan bourgeoisie. Despite the absence of the organised anarchist movement from the trade union field, from 1911 to 1914, Catalan workers continued to form trade unions of a similar militant syndicalist type, proof, it would seem, that the syndicalist strategy pursued by the anarchists was a response to a particular set of social and political conditions.

And it is the failure, of Marxist and liberal historians alike, to examine the particular social and political reality of Spanish historical development which renders them unable to explain the continuing success of anarchist syndicalism in Spain, and often leads them, against their stated method, to account for this success in terms of ideology or imposition, i.e. that groups of dedicated anarchists somehow "imposed" their ideas on backward, uneducated workers. Underlying these notions is the assumption that there were other "superior", more "developed"

theoretical ideologies available, that were not embraced by Spanish workers either because they were too uneducated to understand them, or because the "anarchists" got in the way.

The type of syndicalist practice developed in certain regions of Spain was in response to a particular social and political reality which differed significantly from other countries of Europe. One of the major characteristics of Spanish society which set it apart from its European neighbours in the nineteenth century was the role the military played in attempts at political change, undoubtedly a reflection of the weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie and its lack of an independent political tradition. Another significant difference between Spain and other countries of Europe was the degree of political instability, exacerbated by the waging of two Civil Wars in less than a century. Spain moreover, was a declining colonial power, and was involved in the Independence Wars in Latin America throughout the century. Underlying these developments was the extreme weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie, which was unable, or unwilling, to carry through a political revolution which would have extended democratic rights and values to other groups in society. Indeed, capitalist relationships were introduced during the nineteenth century without any substantial political changes, under the guidance of an effete and backward landowning class, linked by family ties and tradition to the military. And it was this "militaristic" landowning class which succeeded in maintaining control of the state, in alliance with the bourgeoisie from 1874, through the system of patronage known as "caciquismo", and coercion, until the coming of the Republic in 1931.

The earlier part of the nineteenth century did indeed witness struggles over the nature of the Spanish state,

and the direction which Spanish development should take. Certainly the introduction of capitalist relationships on the land were carried-out by "liberal" reformers who believed that these changes would "regenerate" Spanish society, and set it on the road to development on Western European lines. But the lack of resolution on part of the "reformers", who failed to make credit available to peasants, meant that land was bought by the old landowning elite, or by a "new" landowning bourgeoisie, who relied even more heavily on coercion to maintain their position of power and privilege. This demonstrates the weakness of the Spanish central state, and the ineffectual nature of the Spanish political class, caught-up in a web of patronage and "clan" politics, and therefore unable to act as a voice of the "general interest of the ruling classes".

The nature of the Spanish state and patronage politics would be of crucial importance in the type of development which took place throughout the nineteenth century. Industrial development was thwarted by the direction of investment to the land, which allowed foreign capital to penetrate, and even monopolise, certain industries. Indeed, industrial development was dependent on the "goodwill" of politicians, which developed into a vast system of "reciprocal" favours within which "productivity" was a low priority. Undoubtedly the enormous strains within the patronage system from the turn of the century reflected greater industrial development, and the growth of a "bourgeois" consciousness amongst the Catalan bourgeoisie, who were finding the restrictions of patronage increasingly irksome. But fear of their own militant proletariat acted to restrain their "nationalism", graphically displayed during the events of 1917, when they again threw in their lot with the traditional elites.

This brief look at the distinguishing characteristics of Spanish historical development shows clearly the enormous

differences between Spain and other industrialising states of Europe. Unlike France, the Spanish state had not created a peasantry which would have brought stability to the countryside, nor like Germany, possessed an enterprising landowning elite whose profits were more directly related to increases in productivity than the exploitation of human labour. The failure to resolve the land problem, particularly acute in the south, was a direct consequence of the nature of the landowning latifundists, and their relationship to the state. The agrarian crisis was a continual source of radicalisation, and moreover, meant that the towns, such as Barcelona, would receive a constant influx of immigrants, escaping from the poverty on the land. This would put a great strain on an already crises-ridden textile industry, which was having to compete with British textiles.

This type of social structure had profound consequences for the kind of labour movement which developed in Spain, particularly in the more dynamic peripheral regions with a strong tradition of opposition to the central state. Political crises, the prosecution of war, the intransigence of employers and government repression produced an extremely radicalised labour movement, which, given the lack of dynamism of either the industrial or landowning bourgeoisie, played a more important role in Spanish society than its European counterparts. Moreover, unlike other European countries, which had succeeded in establishing some sort of modus vivendi with labour by the turn of the century, the Spanish state, undergoing severe crisis after the loss of the colonies, attempted to bolster-up its ailing system by an extension of bureaucratic patronage and repressive policies towards labour. Unable to carry through national unification, like Italy, under a sector of the industrial bourgeoisie and an extension of democratic rights, "Spanish unity" was henceforth protected by the army. Now relieved

of its duties in the colonies, the army saw its power enhanced considerably under the monarch Alphonso XIII from 1903, who supported their colonial ambitions in Morocco. And the persuance of the war in Morocco, and the conscription policies which this entailed, was a continual source of radicalisation, as the state crises of 1909 and 1911 testify.

And it is in the light of the specific historical development of Spanish capitalism, and the kind of radicalised labour movement which this engendered in certain Spanish regions, that Marxist political strategy and the Marxist theory of the state must be seen. Essentially, Marx's ideas on revolution were directed towards the industrial nations of Europe, a development pattern he believed, which would be followed in all of Europe, a theory which paid scant regard to less developed countries, or those which have subsequently been called the "Third World". This analysis equated the development of capitalism with a particular form of bourgeois democracy, which would give the working class a political voice, which would mean that in some countries socialist transformation could perhaps be achieved without a bloody revolution. It was assumed that this "progressive" mode of production would carry through an agrarian reform, and eliminate those backward "sacks of potatoes", the peasantry, creating in the process a large working class movement, highly organised, which would be able to give battle to the bourgeoisie.

Marx's analysis was based on capitalist development in England, a country which had carried through a successful agrarian revolution, was the major industrial power in Europe, and the world's foremost colonial power in the nineteenth century. In the light of subsequent historical

development it would seem that the kind of capitalist development which England experienced was entirely unique, as the growth of fascism in Italy and Germany in the 1930's, and the "dependent" nature of capitalism in the "Third World" has proved.

The development of capitalism in Spain was not accompanied by political democracy, nor gave rise to a "progressive" bourgeoisie. On the contrary, greater industrialisation in Spain coincided with the ending of the colonial wars and the Carlist Wars, which increased the size of the bureaucracy and enhanced the position of the military within domestic affairs. Indeed, capitalist transformation, particularly in the latifundist regions, increasingly relied on coercion to maintain itself.

The introduction of capitalist relationships on the land did not bring about any change in agricultural techniques, but continued to rely on large numbers of landless labourers working long hours for starvation wages. In fact, the loss of former privileges which capitalist transformation entailed actually increased social tension in the countryside and produced a rural revolutionary movement which showed its greatest strength during the revolutionary upheavals of 1918 to 1921, and again during the radicalisation which accompanied the Republican period from 1931 to 1936.

Given these enormous differences between English and Spanish development, it is hardly likely that the type of labour movements which developed would be similar, nor that the political strategies they would adopt would converge. Yet Marx insisted, as did the Internationals which succeeded him, on participation within the parliamentary arena, a strategy of doubtful validity in Spain, as even the attempt at moderate reform during the first years of the Republic, from 1931 to 1933, brought about the reaction of the Right, and led directly to the Civil War. Certainly the anarchists' relationship to "politics" was much more flexible than it has usually been credited with, and they often conspired with Republicans and democrats to bring about a more liberal regime for labour. But the anarchists'

insistence on keeping the trade union movement outside of the political system was not only to maintain working class unity, but due to their conviction, borne out by historical development, that no substantial reform would be achieved by this strategy. Anti-politicism was also designed to keep the trade union movement uncorrupted and revolutionary. Developments within the Spanish Socialist Party have proved this reasoning correct. Socialist participation within the mixed juries' system during the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and under the first government of the Republic, created a whole network of bureaucracy which was one of the major obstacles to revolutionary change within the party.

The issue of parliamentary participation was one of the major reasons for the split between anarchists and Marxists in the First International. Underlying the disagreement over parliamentary participation were different notions of the state. Marx argued that economic development gave rise to classes, like the bourgeoisie, who gradually, as in England, or through revolution, as in France, gained control of the organs of state power. In essence Marx argued that economic development preceded political power, indeed, political power was the expression of these class forces which economic development had brought about. Capitalist development in England, for example, took place over centuries, almost "autonomously" i.e. outside of state control, and the bourgeoisie only gradually succeeded in exercising power through the state.

The anarchists, like Bakunin, disagreed with this analysis and held instead to the notion of the "conquest" state. The origins of the state and political power, the anarchists argued, have to be sought in subjugation and force. Those who held political power could force others to work for them, as slaves or labourers. Political power thus created classes

and shaped economic development. The state and political power preceded economic power, for it was through the control of the state that the exercise of economic power was possible. And it would seem that the anarchists' view on the nature of the state and political power had greater resonance in Spain because it explained theoretically much better than Marxism, the nature of the Spanish state. Certainly the capitalist latifundists' power was reflected at the level of the Spanish state, as it was this class which continued to hold state power until 1931. This was possible because of the underdeveloped nature of Spanish industry, the "dependent" nature of Spanish capitalism vis-à-vis Europe, and its status as a declining colonial power.

But during the earlier part of the century when there was considerable struggle between the ruling groups for control of the state, "liberal reformers" had directed their energies towards the land, thus diverting investment away from industry, at a crucial moment of industrial development. Thus, the politicians of the Spanish state had actually consolidated landowning capitalism, for their lack of resolution in carrying-through their stated objectives - the creation of a middle peasantry - led to the consolidation of existing estates and the creation of a new landed bourgeoisie. Moreover, these changes in agrarian property relationships were not accompanied by changes in agricultural technique, especially irrigation, which would have increased profitability, thus allowing landowners to pay their workers sufficient wages to buy goods, such as textiles, which would have created an internal market for Spanish goods. Industrial development was stifled from the beginning by the need to curry favour in government and political circles, which led to highly over-manned and unproductive enterprises. The Spanish state and the system

of patronage politics which sustained it therefore played a crucial part in shaping Spanish economic development, and further exacerbated Spain's "dependent" position within Western European capitalism.

The important role which the Spanish state played in the development of Spanish capitalism, patronage politics and the nature of the Spanish ruling class, raises problems as to the universal application of Marx's theory of the state. Indeed, it would seem that many less developed countries of the world display similar state / political structures, and are governed by effete rulers who rely more on force than changes in production to maintain their dominance. Although it could be argued that force has always, everywhere, been an integral part of capitalist development, as it is by nature imperialist, the greater relevance which the anarchist notion of the state has for less developed countries of the world reflects the anarchist's greater interest in the less developed countries of Europe, and its belief that these would be the spearheads of revolutionary change. This, of course, was another area of disagreement between Marxists and anarchists within the First International, as Marx believed that revolution would take place in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, while less developed countries would need to pass through a "bourgeois democratic" period before socialist transformation would be possible. This "two-stage" theory would be applied dogmatically and mechanically by subsequent Internationals to Spain, and is an important factor in accounting for the failure of Marxism to penetrate the most radicalised sector of the workers' movement in Spain, Catalonia.

The fundamental correctness of the anarchist notion of the Spanish state was therefore of crucial importance in attracting radical "advanced" workers to its orbit, and maintaining their allegiance, despite the prestige and status which the Communist Party acquired internationally in the wake of the Russian revolution. But it was the political strategy which flowed from this analysis, a militant and extremely democratic syndicalism, which allowed it to become a mass movement in Catalonia, Andalusia and other parts

of Spain where the contradictions of Spanish capitalist development were most acutely felt. The major radicalising factors during the early years of the Anarchist Federation had been the repressive actions of the state, and the unwillingness of employers, whether urban or rural, to accept the right of labour to exist. This pushed workers towards more violent forms of protest, such as insurrection and reprisals, forms of protest which would have been difficult to contain within the Marxism of its time, as the latter was committed to peaceful trade union organising and "consciousness-building", a strategy which had out-lived its usefulness by the 1880's in certain regions of Spain.

Again this demonstrates the Western European bias of Marxist thought which rendered it unable to deal with a potentially revolutionary movement in a less developed country of Europe. And indeed, it was the more flexible nature of anarchist thought, and its greater knowledge of less developed countries of Europe, which allowed it to support, or even espouse, protests not strictly of a trade union kind. For the adoption of anarcho-communism in the 1880's followed the fierce repression of 1883, and exposed the limitations of strictly trade union action, especially in the south, in the context of severe recession and mass unemployment. This emphasis on the plight of rural workers in the 1890's was possible because of the anarchists lack of a systematic theory vis-à-vis revolutionary change, and consequently what sector of the oppressed working class which would bring it about. While Spanish anarchism was essentially proletarian, it did not, like Marxism, place its revolutionary hopes solely in the urban proletariat, but believed that the rural masses would also play an important role, which again reflects anarchism's greater insight and knowledge of less developed countries of the world.

There were too other aspects of anarchist political thought which would be of crucial importance in gaining it mass support in certain regions of Spain. One of the fundamental tenets of anarchism, which flows from its analysis of the state, is the iniquity of power, and its belief that power can only be equalised by installing a regime of workers' control throughout society. This was another point of serious disagreement between Marxists and anarchists within the First International, as the anarchists contested the Marxist notion of centralised organisation on the grounds that this would create a new, powerful hierarchy within the workers' movement, which would continue to maintain the divisions between leaders and the rank and file, thus reproducing the division of labour of capitalist society. Instead, the anarchists proposed a federal form of organisation, which would give the local sections equal power and autonomy of action, thus ensuring an equal distribution of power within the organisation. This form of organisation was better equipped to prepare workers for control of future society and encourage individual responsibility. Indeed, the anarchists argued that the type of organisation adopted by workers had to "pre-figure" the organisation of future society, a society in which the capitalist division of labour, and the powerlessness which it entailed, would be radically overturned.

Certainly the anarchists' espousal of federalism was a major reason for its success in those regions of Spain with an anti-centralist tradition, such as ~~Catalonia~~. As Brenan has said, the paradox of Spanish political culture was that while it was the most regionally diverse country in Europe, it had one of the most centralised political systems, "caciquismo", where every local official was in the pay of Madrid.

Federal Republicanism had made great headway amongst the Catalan and Andalusian popular masses prior to the arrival of the anarchist section, and

had succeeded in setting-up a government of an extreme democratic type in 1873.

The fact that the petit bourgeoisie, in the form of Federal Republicanism, ascribed to such notions of extreme democracy, shows the extent to which solutions to Spain's problems were seen to lie in a redistribution of power within Spanish society. In the context of a militaristic state whose power extended to every village, through the local bureaucrat and the Civil Guard, and where urban and rural employers refused any dialogue with labour, the question of power and control were bound to be at the forefront of political debate. The authoritarian nature of relationships which engulfed Spanish society, made workers, particularly in certain regions of Spain, much more sensitive to the kind of relationships which obtained within their own organisations, and the degree of power they were able to exert. This authoritarianism would be especially felt in Andalusia, heartland of latifundist power and privilege where state repression was frequently and severely felt, and Catalonia, home of the largest and most combative working class, with a strong "European" sensitivity and historic opposition to the Spanish central state.

And it was this continuing need felt by the working class, for democratic changes, which would bring about individual freedoms, which ensured that anarchism would be the type of socialism which would put down deep and lasting roots in certain regions of Spain. For anarchism, unlike Marxism, did not break so decisively with its radical republican past and Enlightenment heritage, and attempted to harmonise economic egalitarianism with individual freedom of choice and expression. And it was this "European" aspect of anarchist thought which allowed it such success in the most "Europeanised" region of Spain, Catalonia, where the "gap" between

Europe and Spain was most clearly perceived.

The workers' movement in Catalonia developed along similar lines as other European workers' movements in the nineteenth century, under the leadership of Republicanism. Indeed it was in the movements of the workers and the petit bourgeoisie that European influences were strongest, particularly along the Mediterranean seaboard, from Barcelona in Catalonia to Cadiz in Andalusia. It was here that a new social dynamic was at play, reflecting the growth of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, and the working class, both urban and rural. Unlike other countries of Europe, however, Spain possessed neither an enterprising landowning class, nor a bourgeoisie strong enough to carry through a political revolution which would have brought about democratic changes in Spanish society. Thus the democratic revolution was increasingly entrusted to the Spanish working class, a class which was radicalised by the continuous crises of the Spanish state, the prosecution of war, state repression and the unwillingness of Spanish employers to recognise labour's right to exist.

The notion of democracy in Spain was directly related to production. The Spanish ruling elites, both landowning and industrial, showed little interest in productivity or efficiency, as large profits could be obtained by the exploitation of cheap labour, whose protests could be stifled by the forces of the military state. The urgent need to take control of production out of the hands of this elite, and devolve it to the producers, the workers, was a deeply-held feeling amongst Spanish workers, particularly in those regions where the Spanish central state was felt primarily as revenue collector and force of oppression. Thus, the "regeneration", of Spanish society was seen to come through workers' control over production, and was totally incompatible with the maintenance of the central

state and political patronage. This feeling ran deepest amongst the Catalan masses, who had never recognised the "legitimacy" of the Spanish state, and where the development of the forces for bourgeois revolution had gone furthest. As the most industrialised Spanish region, geographically close to France and French culture, and with links to Europe through port, Barcelona, Catalonia was the region which was most aware of the moribund nature of the Spanish state, and the lack of democratic freedoms. Indeed, the Catalan bourgeoisie was the only section of the Spanish bourgeoisie which developed a strong political voice after the bourgeois / landowners' alliance of 1874, and even made an attempt, however feeble, to bring about political change in 1917. But it had left its "historic mission" too late. By 1917 a strong and extremely radicalised workers' movement had developed in Catalonia, committed to carrying through a socialist transformation which would simultaneously fulfill the democratic aspirations of Spanish society, and usher in a regime of true equality and well-being for all.

Anarchism, particularly in Catalonia, therefore reflected a highly developed and radicalised workers' movement, which also assumed the tasks of bourgeois democracy, albeit in a radically different way, and endowed the abstract "individual" of bourgeois thought with social and communal connotations. This continuing need felt by the Catalan masses for democratic changes which would bring about less authoritarian relationships in civil society (while simultaneously solving the problems of production), often came into conflict with the need felt for a revolutionary transformation for, as Engles correctly said, revolution is an "authoritarian" act par excellence. ⁽¹⁾. It also came into conflict with the methods of struggle which the Spanish militaristic state and Spanish employers imposed on the movement, and forced Spanish anarchists at times to

relinquish their claims to "pre-fugurative" organisational forms, and lead them inexorably towards more "authoritarian" acts and organisational practices.

It is in this conflict - between the commitment to the greatest democracy possible, and the urgent need for revolutionary change - that the history of the Spanish anarchist movement should be seen.

This is the paradox which the European Left has been attempting to address in the last few decades, given the failure of centralised "state" socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which seems to suggest that individual freedom and decentralisation are intimately related to productivity and growth. Moreover, the growth in consciousness of other oppressed groups, particularly women, has questioned the power relationships which obtain within the organisations of the Left itself, and have called for a radical re-think of organisational practices and personal conduct. Indeed, women have argued, the organisational practice and personal relationships which obtain have to "pre-figure" the future socialist society, otherwise the old male-dominated power relationships will continue to shape the new society, and the capitalist division of labour thus preserved.

This dilemma - the need felt to extend and deepen democracy, while simultaneously carrying through a successful socialist transformation - was one to which the early Socialist and feminist movement of the nineteenth century paid particular attention. It appeared to have been resolved however, by the Bolshevik revolution. The massive participation of workers through the democratically-elected Soviets, gave the impression that a truly democratic socialist society had at last come into being, and a large number of Socialists and revolutionary syndicalists throughout Europe led revolutionary strike-waves and factory occupations under the Soviet banner. Many of these militants would later form the nuclei of the first Communist Parties throughout Europe.

While the extent of the successes of the Communist Party in Europe seems to have been exaggerated ⁽²⁾, there is little doubt that a large number of erstwhile Socialists and revolutionary syndicalists in France, Germany and Italy now believed that "revolutionary dictatorship" was the only way to achieve a socialist transformation, although parliamentary struggle was not relinquished entirely. In Spain, this did not occur to anything like the same extent, and indeed the new Spanish Communist Party had difficulties in getting off the ground at all, and was unable to appeal to the most able and competent leadership, thus dooming it as a serious alternative until the 1930's.

The Repercussions of the Russian Revolution in Spain and the failure of the Communist Party.

Undoubtedly one of the major reasons for the failure of the Communist Party in Spain in the early 1920's was the lack of knowledge which the Bolshevik leaders had of Spain, which led them to seriously underestimate the tremendous impact that the Russian Revolution had on the C.N.T., especially in Andalusia and Catalonia. For the Russian Revolution occurred at a time of major state crisis, brought into being by army and bourgeois discontent, but in which the workers' organisations, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., had played a crucial role. This attempt by sections of the bourgeoisie, particularly the Catalan, reflected the industrial development which Spain had undergone during the previous decades, which led to the growth of the organised strength and consciousness of the Catalan bourgeoisie.

But greater industrial growth and employers' strength brought in its train the development of the workers' movement and of its consciousness. Indeed, the period leading up to the First World War is one in which the workers'

movement makes considerable gains, particularly in relationship to the ~~length~~ of the working day, and trade union recognition. This was especially the case in the northern industrial zones, particularly Vizcaya. Here, militant strikes were carried out against the advice of the national leadership of the U.G.T., who advised arbitration. It was these kind of militant strikes however, which brought about the quadrupling of the membership in Vizcaya.

In Catalonia during the same period, militant syndicalist tactics continued to predominate, despite the absence of the C.N.T. from the trade union field. For Catalan employers refused to recognise the 1900 law regarding women and children in the textile industry, and the 1913 general strike was an attempt to enforce this law. The success of the 1913 general strike, which gave the ten-hour day legal status, was not recognised by the employers, and thus forced workers to strike again and again for the same demand. This level of intransigence shown by the Catalan employers, and their non-recognition of the state, explains the continuing relevance of militant, direct action syndicalism in Catalonia, and why Socialist Party influence was minimal.

Working class organisation got a further boost by the industrial expansion which took place during the First World War. But industrial expansion also brought crisis to sectors of agriculture, which increased emigration to the large cities, and led to high levels of inflation. High prices and the continuing refusal of the Catalan textile employers to honour the ten-hour day decree, led to another important general strike in the textile industry in 1916, which was particularly violent with troops being used against the workers. Indeed, most industrial regions in Spain were affected by strikes in 1915 and 1916, as the war had severely affected workers' living standards. The large

number of general strikes, and their duration and militancy, again shows the level of development of the workers' movement, and of its consciousness.

The growing militancy of sections of its membership , especially in Asturias, was the major reason for the U.G.T.'s agreement to join the C.N.T. in general strike action in 1916, in an effort to get the government take some action on living costs. This peaceful, but successful general strike by the two labour unions did not however bring about any government initiative, despite attempts by the U.G.T. to mediate. But the 1916 general strike laid the basis for a much more important attempt in 1917, during a time of political euphoria, when it seemed that, at last, profound political changes were in the offing.

The 1917 crisis in Spain showed striking similarities to the Russian movement, and many of the forces which would converge in the February revolution were present during 1917 in Spain. Spain however, unlike Russia, had not intervened during the First World War, and therefore did not have at its disposal a peasant army, nor a demand that could unite the disparate forces for change i.e. peace. The state in Spain did not collapse, and indeed the government had showed a striking amount of cunning in provoking the August strike before it had been sufficiently prepared, and by acceding to the demands of the various groups separately. But the crucial event, and that which decided the Catalan bourgeoisie to continue in the ruling alliance, was the revolutionary strike waged by both Socialists and anarchists in August. Again, the 1917 state crisis displays the strength of the landowning / military elite, and its power to "assimilate" the bourgeoisie, within the context of a highly organised and combative working class, whose power and determination had been seen in action in August 1917.

The repercussions of the 1917 strike failure within the two Spanish labour unions were dramatic. The Socialists believed that the 1917 failure had proved decisively that frontal attacks on the state were doomed to failure, and committed themselves to a parliamentary strategy. For the C.N.T., the 1917 attempt had proved that there was no possibility of "reforming" the Spanish state, and thus reaffirmed fundamental notions of the anarchist view of the state and parliamentary politics, and radicalised the C.N.T. in an increasingly anarchist direction. The Socialists' espousal of parliamentary struggle further reaffirmed anarchist notions of the state, and also contributed to a radicalisation in an anarchist direction. 1917 had also given a taste of what revolutionary power was like, and showed that a frontal assault on the state was possible.

Therefore the great dilemma posed to the anarchist workers' movement - between the commitment to the greatest democracy possible, and the urgent need for revolutionary change - was posed more forcefully in 1917 than ever before in its history. For, given the nature of the military state and the power wielded by Catalan industrialists and southern latifundists, radicalisation also meant a renewed commitment to democratic change, which would bring about a more equal distribution of power, and where individual freedom would be respected and production boosted by a regime of workers' control.

The dilemma appeared to be solved by the successful Bolshevik revolution. For Russia, more than any other country in Europe, more closely resembled Spain - a large peasantry and landworking class, a small but extremely combative proletariat, and an authoritarian state where the parliamentary process had very little meaning. The idea that peasants had seized the land, and that the workers

were running the factories - indeed workers' control had been established throughout Russian society - had a tremendous impact on the most radicalised sectors of the Spanish workers' movement, in Andalusia and Catalonia.

The fact that a socialist revolution had been successfully carried through, and had solved the economic problem - which, for Spanish anarchists was the basis for all other freedoms - almost totally overwhelmed the C.N.T., and dispelled the ideological doubts they had. Moreover, the nature of the Russian revolution in its early stages - the crucial role played by the trade unions and the popular masses, whose radicalisation had "pushed" the Bolsheviks into revolutionary action - seemed to suggest that here was a revolutionary movement which showed striking similarities to the anarchists' own vision of the revolutionary process, and thus reaffirmed anarchist notions. For the anarchists, unlike the revolutionary syndicalists, had always argued the need for a "sphere" outside of the trade unions. For Bakunin, this "sphere" would be the leadership, which would not "lead" in the Marxist sense, but be the repository of revolutionary values and action - in essence its role would be educational and exemplary. Kropotkin, while not totally dismissing the importance of leadership, placed greater emphasis on the commune, a "sphere" which, by its nature, was more democratic, and which would counterbalance "reformist" and bureaucratic "leaderist" tendencies within the anarchist movement.

It is not surprising therefore, that the anarchists within the C.N.T., who had always pointed to the limitations of "pure syndicalism", should view the Bolshevik revolution more favourably. This was particularly so in 1917, as the August revolutionary strike, and its failure, had posed the question of revolutionary power in a more immediate manner than ever before. It was certainly with this failure in mind that greater centralisation was introduced

within the C.N.T. unions in 1918, with the creation of the industrial unions (the Sindicatos Unicos) in each major branch of production. But this measure of centralisation had also been thrust upon the C.N.T. by the industrial growth which had occurred during the First World War, which brought with it a massive influx of members, and the growth in the strength of the employers. Thus, the question of revolutionary power was integrally linked to the consolidation of trade union power, a point which united both revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists within the C.N.T.

The continuing allegiance of Spanish anarchists to democratic trade unionism, can also be seen in the attempt to harmonise greater efficiency in the struggle of the unions against the employers - the structure of the Sindicatos Unicos - with freedom of action of the individual unions within the C.N.T.

Moreover, at the same congress in 1918, where the Sindicato Unico was approved, the fear that mass unionism would lead to a bureaucratisation of the C.N.T. led to the rejection of permanent trade union funds, and the remuneration of the leadership. Even when the euphoria which accompanied the Russian revolution was at its height, at the 1919 congress when the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was approved, the fear of an undemocratic syndicalism had not diminished. The U.G.T.'s appendage role vis-à-vis the Socialist Party, which was increasingly subordinating the trade union struggle to Socialist electoral policy, was crucial in establishing the norm that a trade union delegateship could not be held together with a political post. Thus, the development of a trade union and political power, in the hands of the few, was still seen to be one of the major dangers affecting the workers' movement, as it led, necessarily to the loss of control by the rank and file.

Thus, even at the high point of revolutionary euphoria which accompanied the Russian revolution, the anarchists within the C.N.T. remained committed to syndicalism, despite their suspiciousness of a syndicalism which solely dealt with worker's wages and living conditions. For their disagreements with the revolutionary syndicalists was not over tactics, or the crucial role that the trade unions should play in the revolutionary process, but over the pace of revolutionary change, and the need for an ideological definition which would direct syndicalist practice towards an anarchist goal. For the anarchists within the C.N.T., as workers and workers' leaders, were fully aware of the need for a militant syndicalism in the context of an intransigent employer class, and the repressive nature of the Spanish state. This was reinforced considerably by the success of syndicalist tactics during the Canadiense strike in January 1919, when Barcelona was practically controlled by workers, and the eight-hour day finally conceded.

Therefore, by 1919, the anarchists within the C.N.T. had accepted the need for a greater degree of centralisation, as a result of the 1917 movement and the success of the Sindicatos Unicos in the Canadiense strike. But this centralising trend had to be kept within certain bounds, allowing individual trade unions freedom of action, and the local federation powers of decision-making. While the Russian Revolution seemed to affirm that a "sphere" outside of the trade unions was needed to carry-out a successful revolution, this point was not given much attention by the anarchists within the C.N.T., overwhelmed as they were by the mere fact that the economic problem had been resolved. Thus the relationship between the party and the trade union was still an "open" question, and indeed it was on this point - the relationship between the Party and the trade unions - that the anarchists within the C.N.T. were most suspicious of the revolutionary process in Russia.

The central question posed by the Bolshevik Revolution - the role of the party within the revolutionary process - was therefore "blurred" under the impact of the Russian Revolution, a revolution which, in almost all other respects, seemed to resemble the anarchists' own vision of revolutionary change. Undoubtedly the greater centralisation undertaken within the C.N.T. from 1918 made anarchists more sympathetic to the centralising role of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, and contributed to the feeling that the revolutionary developments in Russia closely resembled their own. But given the other measures taken by the C.N.T. - under anarchist pressure - it would seem that the role of the Bolsheviks, and the degree of centralisation which this represented, would only be acceptable so long as the revolution maintained its democratic trade unionist character, and the "party" did not consolidate itself in a dictatorial manner. For, as we have seen, despite the enormous impact which the successful revolution in Russia had upon the C.N.T., the anarchists within the organisation did not relinquish their belief in the syndicalist character of revolutionary change, and their idea that workers' control was the only way of bringing about democratic change and regenerating Spanish society. Indeed, the Russian Revolution was greeted with wild enthusiasm precisely because it was believed that a regime of workers' control had been established in Russian society, despite the reservations many anarchists had vis-à-vis the role of the party.

This continuing commitment to democratic syndicalism has to be seen in the context of the developments in Spain, particularly in Catalonia, from 1917. For the Russian revolutionary events coincided with the growth of mass unionism, when workers' struggle was not just about wages and working conditions, but about the granting of trade union recognition.

The Canadiense was, above all, a strike for trade union recognition. Thus, the class struggle in Catalonia was integrally linked to democratic demands.

Indeed, the C.N.T. was even willing to postpone its economic plans for Spanish society, when it unofficially adhered to the Left alliance of 1917. This reflects, I believe, the great importance the Spanish masses, particularly in Catalonia, placed on democratic change, a change which would allow labour organising and bring about changes in the power relationships within society. But the attempt at political change in 1917, like many similar attempts throughout the 19th. century, failed, and its failure produced a reaffirmation of fundamental anarchist notions on the nature of the state and the political process. And this renewal of anarchism also reinforced its extreme democracy, as the democratic demands of 1917 had not been fulfilled and were therefore still on the political agenda. Indeed, these democratic demands must surely have been reinforced considerably during these years of intense class warfare, when the Catalan employers engaged in revenge killings, and kept blacklists of all those known to have taken part in syndicalist activities.

The failure of the Spanish bourgeoisie to bring about democratic changes in Spanish society therefore placed the democratic aspirations of Spanish society in the working class movement. In its hands, democracy would take on a broader meaning, but would retain a commitment to plurality, and an abhorrence of "one-party" rule. As we have seen, the notion of democracy - workers' control - was directly related to production. Given the unenterprising nature of the Spanish elites, both rural and urban, the task of regenerating Spanish society was seen increasingly to come from the workers themselves, by their control over production.

For one of the major reasons for Spain's crises, both agrarian and industrial, was the role of patronage politics, where two parties, with very little to distinguish one from the other, alternated in power and shared the "spoils of office", creating in the process a whole network of corruption and bureaucracy which impeded production and growth. The Spanish workers' movement, particularly in Catalonia where the burdens of this mismanagement of production were most acutely felt, had a "first-hand" knowledge of the problems of party control of the state, where lack of democracy led inevitably to inefficiency and corruption. Therefore in 1920, when news began trickling into Spain about the nature of the Russian revolution, essentially that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was increasingly becoming the dictatorship of the party "over the proletariat", there was an immediate distancing of the Catalan workers' movement from the Russian experience. Of course there was an ample dissemination of this news by both Socialists and anarchists alike, which shows, I believe, that neither wing of the Spanish workers' movement was enthusiastic about a party dictatorship. But more importantly for the C.N.T., was the fact that revolutionary change, the conquest of power, was no longer on the agenda. The dilemma - between the commitment to the greatest democracy possible, and the urgent need for revolutionary change - which presented itself so forcefully between 1917 and 1919, had, by 1920, lost much of its *raison d'être*. For the industrial growth of the First World War, which underlay the mass unionism of the C.N.T., was now giving way to severe economic crisis, while the consolidation of the Soviet regime brought forth a concerted reaction from the state and the employers to end the revolutionary turmoil of the previous years. The draconian repression unleashed by Martínez Anido from September 1920, would seriously weaken the C.N.T., and lead it inexorably towards "revenge" killings and shoot-outs, in an escalating three-cornered struggle with the employers, the state and the "yellow" union, the Sindicato Libre.

1920 : The ending of revolutionary hopes.

Anarchism in Crisis.

Thus, when the revolutionary strike wave had receded, in 1920, and the anarchists realised that their former intoxication with the Russian Revolution had been proved illusory, Spanish anarchism underwent a severe crisis. It now seemed, indeed, that the revolutionary syndicalists had been proved correct, and that any "sphere" outside of the trade unions had the potential to subjugate workers and create new types of hierarchies. Moreover, despite the enormous impact the Russian Revolution had upon the C.N.T., this had not seriously threatened the revolutionary syndicalist character of the organisation, nor had any ideological "revision" taken place within the C.N.T. The decline in anarchist fortunes was further exacerbated by the economic recession begun in 1920, which dictated a "syndicalist survival" strategy for the trade unions, in an attempt to protect workers' wages and living standards, and maintain the existence of the C.N.T.

But alongside the development of the C.N.T. into a mass union, and the growth in prestige of syndicalist leaders such as Seguí and Pestaña, was the development of anarchist action groups, composed mainly of young radicals who had been deeply impressed by the Russian Revolution. Their position within the C.N.T. had been strengthened by their ability to deal with certain intransigent employers, in a "gun to the head" type trade union bargaining. While the economic recession of 1920 dictated a "syndicalist survival" strategy on the trade unions, employer intransigence and their policy of "revenge", aided by state repression, continued to keep anarchist influences alive within the C.N.T., even during the period of greatest crisis for the anarchists within the C.N.T., from 1920 to 1922.

The anarchist decline begun in 1920 was reversed after the re-establishment of constitutional guarantees in April 1922, when a massive strike wave was launched by workers. This was contested by increased employer repression and a growing reliance on the Sindicato Libre to eliminate the C.N.T. Undoubtedly the important part the action groups played in the armed warfare which took place daily on the streets of Barcelona, enhanced their prestige within the C.N.T., as did the assassination of their foremost "reformist" opponent, Seguí, in March 1923. The C.N.T. was further radicalised by the climate of political crisis which prevailed during the few years which preceded the dictatorship of Primo, and is reflected in the committees of the organisation, which, by 1923, were dominated by the anarchists. But despite this radicalisation, and the revolutionary proposals of "Los Solidarios", the organisation was too weakened from the repression of the previous years, and unable to carry through any of its revolutionary plans. The "moderation" of revolutionary syndicalist leaders such as Peiró, therefore prevailed, and the C.N.T. unofficially adhered to the Leftist coalition headed by the Catalan leader Maciá.

The "Nature" of the C.N.T. : the "reformist" and "radical" split.

The military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was installed in September 1923, and finally brought to an end the revolutionary period begun in 1917. Despite the severe weakening of the C.N.T.'s trade union organisation by 1923, the major forces within it - revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists - had seen their revolutionary visions confirmed. For while the events from April 1922 had radicalised sectors of the C.N.T., and shown that a revolutionary solution was needed, the serious weakening of the organisation after the fierce repression imposed

a "moderate" strategy of alliance with other forces on the Left. Curiously, Spanish historical development from 1920 had strengthened both anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism, and reinforced their revolutionary conceptions. Moreover, this took place against the backdrop of the "failure" of the Russian revolution, which seemed to prove decisively, to both tendencies, the fundamental correctness of their revolutionary strategies.

And it is against this background - the reinforcement of revolutionary syndicalist and anarchist conceptions - that the subsequent division of the C.N.T. in 1932 should be seen. These divisions also reveal the nature of the C.N.T., and its relationship to Spanish historical development. Undoubtedly the divisions within the C.N.T. reflect divisions within the rank and file, between old and young members, between different industries, and the attitude of the employers, and their ability to organise in the face of labour pressure. ⁽³⁾ It could also be the case, as in the 1890's, that the most militant workers, those who would support anarchist positions within the trade unions, were new, and frequently young workers in expanding industries, who were fighting for trade union recognition in previously unorganised sectors. ⁽⁴⁾

The revolutionary syndicalist sector could be said to represent workers who had achieved some degree of trade union recognition, in sectors where the employers had been unable to organise. This was certainly the case with Sabadell, centre of "reformist" power in the 1930's, which had, by 1920, achieved a non-contributory pension scheme from the employers. However, if Spanish historico-political development reinforced these divisions at times, at others it blew them apart. For example, the onset of economic recession in 1920 dictated a "syndicalist survival" strategy on the trade unions, but the continuing "revenge" tactics of the Catalan employers, and state repression, kept the tempo of class warfare at a high level, and assured the continuing presence of armed anarchist groups within the C.N.T.

It would seem that clandestinity and illegality, given the nature of the Catalan employers and the Spanish state, engendered both "pure syndicalism", i.e. retreat tactics by the trade unions, and small groups of anarchists engaged in armed struggle. These types of divisions would be shattered however, when legal organising allowed workers to engage in strike activity, as from April 1922. A strike "explosion", stimulated by the climate of political crisis, was contested by employers' revenge actions, and led the action groups to increase their armed defence, in an escalating spiral of violence and conflict. At these times of open and violent class conflict, even unions without a grievance of their own would strike in solidarity, outraged at the treatment meted-out to their fellow workers, and thus extend and deepen the conflict.

Undoubtedly the structure of the C.N.T., based on the local federation where workers from different trades were represented, heightened this solidarity, and halted the development of a "corporate" consciousness. The easy accessibility to positions of leadership, which allowed "radicals" and "reformists" to come to the fore at different times, was also an important factor in maintaining the "flexibility" required of an organisation which at times was engaged in "survival", and at others in massive revolutionary strike action. This can be seen in the dominance of a "reformist / political" leadership towards the end of the Primo dictatorship, which was overthrown by the "radicals" in 1931 under the pressure of the revolutionary strike wave which accompanied the first year of the Republic.

The C.N.T.'s trade union structure was therefore uniquely equipped to deal with the conditions which Spanish historico-political development imposed, for it kept it within the organisation "reformist" sectors which could be potentially revolutionary, in the context of state and employer repression. Certainly this is the reason why the anarchists within the C.N.T. always defended the local federation as the revolutionary unit, against the federations of industry proposed

by the revolutionary syndicalists, seeing in the latter the development of a "corporate" trend already clearly visible within the U.G.T. But there was always the danger that the "reformist" direction which the organisation was forced to take at times would end up implanting itself firmly, and lastingly within the C.N.T. For while state and employer repression radicalised sectors of the C.N.T., it also "wore workers down", and bred disillusionment and "reformism". Undoubtedly the fierce repression from 1920, particularly under Martinez Anido, corresponding as it did to the disillusionment felt at the failure to bring about any substantial political change in Spain, must have taken a heavy toll on C.N.T. militants, and led many to seek alliances with other forces on the Left, in the context of a strong military right.

Certainly the existence of a strong "syndicalist" current was evident within the C.N.T. in the 1920's, although this development had of course accompanied the rise of the C.N.T. to mass union status. But it was the "political notion" approved in 1922, which called on the C.N.T. to engage in "responsible" action, and to take its place in national politics, which really began to worry the anarchists within the C.N.T. For, with the founding of the Communist Party in 1921, syndicalism as integrator of the diverse tendencies of the working class had patently failed, while the anarchist content of the C.N.T. was also threatened by ex-cenetistas who wanted to win the rank and file to Communism. It was from then onwards that the notion of a "specifically anarchist workers' movement" was put forward, to protect the anarchist character of the C.N.T., and in thus doing prevent the organisation from becoming a purely defensive organisation under capitalism.

Anarchist "renewal" in the 1920's.

Despite the crises which Spanish anarchism underwent in the early 1920's, it had, however survived, and in so doing,

renewed itself. The renewal of Spanish anarchism in the 1920's took place with reference to the Russian revolutionary experience and its failure, which suggested that fundamental anarchist principles of democracy and the importance of the masses' spontaneity had been proved historically correct. Thus, specifically anarchist notions i.e. those which differed most fundamentally from Marxism, were now stressed. The "humanist" and moral content of anarchism was emphasised, as opposed to the restricted "economistic" nature of both Marxism and syndicalism. Kropotkinism, with its extreme democratic principles and exaltation of the commune, was a major source for this renewal. With its strong moral tone, and its suspiciousness of trade unionism, anarcho-communism seemed to address the problems which were now besetting the Spanish anarchist movement. It is to this period that we detect the growth of an anarchist "orthodoxy", opposed both to the limitations of syndicalism, and to the purely "materialist" and undemocratic aspects of Marxism. This "orthodoxy", centred around the magazine "Tierra y Libertad", had of course always existed within the C.N.T., but its influence had been circumscribed by the fact that most anarchists up till then had never seriously questioned the "syndicalist" character of the C.N.T., and the growth of pro-Bolshevik groups from 1917 had further weakened its appeal. The anarchists of "Tierra y Libertad", essentially Kropotkinist, argued that in view of the failure of the Russian Revolution, anarchist activity should now centre around education, and engage in a critical opposition. While not totally hostile to trade unionism, this current would attempt to address more "general human interests" than that of class, and laid great emphasis on the importance of "personal" change within the revolutionary process.

These trends which developed within the "orthodoxy" affected, to a greater or lesser extent, the whole of the Spanish anarchist movement in the 1920's. Indeed, it is

during the 1920's that a certain "flowering" and diversification of anarchism took place in Spain, with the creation of "naturist", nudist and vegetarian groups, and a reinforcement of the belief that "anarchism is a way of life". Despite these developments, the experience of the Russian Revolution, and its impact upon the C.N.T., did not wholly disappear. The legacy of the Russian Revolution and the 1917 revolutionary period in Spain is seen most clearly in the thought of the group "Los Solidarios", led by García Oliver and Durruti, members of the action groups who had gained much prestige from their gunfights with the employers and the Sindicato Libre, and had helped to sustain the infrastructure of the C.N.T. by robberies, during the terrible repression of the organisation from 1920 to 1923. It was during the years of political crisis which preceded the coup of Primo that "Los Solidarios" developed their revolutionary credo, essentially an attempt to carry through a revolutionary transformation while avoiding a dictatorship on the Soviet model. It was to forestall the impending coup that "Los Solidarios" centralised their activities, and proposed the setting-up of a centralised trade union militia, a revolutionary army which would carry through the revolution, and guarantee the success of the C.N.T. They also proposed the penetration of army ranks, which, they believed, was imperative for revolutionary success. They believed that this "dictatorship" would avoid the pitfalls of the Russian experience by being transitory and insurrectional, non-statist and syndicalist, which would keep the masses' involved through a network of federal revolutionary committees. Above all, however, they stressed the importance of the "kind of leadership" which would oversee these revolutionary changes - a leadership imbued with libertarian ideology which would encourage popular participation, and work together with other forces on the Left to bring about a "regeneration" of Spanish society.

Thus, the success and failure of the Russian Revolution produced a renewal of Bakuninism within the C.N.T. Certainly the events of 1917 were crucial in developing a specifically Spanish "synthesis" of revolutionary syndicalism, and aspects of Kropotkinism and Bakuninism, a hybrid "anarcho-syndicalism" which would characterise large sections of the C.N.T. For while anarchists within the C.N.T. were increasingly aware of the limitations of "pure syndicalism", which strengthened their Kropotkinist and Bakuninist beliefs, Spanish anarchists, as workers, continued to see the need for trade unions and militant syndicalist tactics in their struggle with the employers. Undoubtedly the Russian revolutionary experience reinforced their belief that the democratic organisations of the working class were an important guarantee that the revolution would retain its democratic character. The crucial question was of course the relationship between the trade unions and the "sphere" outside of it, the question which had remained "open" from 1917, but which, during the crisis of the C.N.T. which Primo's dictatorship unleashed, now became imperative for the survival of anarchism to answer.

The Primo Dictatorship : the state's changing relationship to labour.

While the solution to the problems within the C.N.T., the problems of "syndicalist" deviation and Marxist penetration, were increasingly seen by anarchists to lie in the creation of a "specifically anarchists' workers' movement", it was the setting-up of state arbitration in labour disputes under Primo in 1926, which finally led to that goal being realised in 1927, with the founding of the Anarchist Iberian Federation (FAI). The search for an ideological definition for the C.N.T. had of course begun in 1917, in response to the Russian Revolution, and had led to

"libertarian communism" being declared the goal of the C.N.T. in 1919. The revolutionary syndicalists had always opposed a precise definition of the C.N.T., believing that all workers "whatever their ideology" had a place within the C.N.T., as it was within the trade unions that education and preparation for future society took place. But the respite from trade union work which the dictatorship imposed gave both tendencies the opportunity to develop their positions, and by 1925 the battle lines were clearly drawn. Any attempt to legalise the organisation, the anarchists argued, would mean a revision of the anarchist nature of the C.N.T. Undoubtedly there were real fears that sectors of the organisation would use the machinery set-up by the dictatorship to resolve disputes, as one of the foremost syndicalist leaders, Pestaña, was urging precisely that strategy. It was in response to these developments that the FAI, protector of the anarchist content of the C.N.T., was founded in 1927.

The growing division and demarcation of positions within the C.N.T. during the years of Primo's dictatorship have to be seen in the context of the relative boom of the early Primo years, and the changing relationship of the state to labour. For while Primo's dictatorship was installed to put an end to the "syndicalist menace" in Barcelona, and the massive upheavals in the south ⁽⁵⁾, the strength of the labour movement shown during these years, and the need for some "dialogue" with labour to carry through industrial expansion, underlay the comités paritarios initiative. The unique character of the Primo dictatorship is seen in the fact that Largo Caballero was the Socialist Minister of Labour, and the machinery of arbitration was largely run by UGT members. Undoubtedly one of the main motives for Largo's collaboration was to undermine the C.N.T., and this fact was not lost on C.N.T. members, who argued that if

they did not use the machinery at their disposal, the UGT would do it, and anarcho-syndicalist influences would suffer a serious reversal within the trade unions. While this was a minority sentiment within the C.N.T. at this time, the recognition of the legality of the state which this implied would form the basis for the division within the organisation in 1932.

Again, illegality and clandestinity reinforced these divisions, but now in a much more heightened fashion. For the boom of the early Primo years must surely have led to an increase in workers' standard of living in some sectors, which reinforced their "syndicalist" approach, while in others who were not so lucky, a "syndicalist survival strategy" was deemed the best way to protect their unions under the restrictions imposed by the dictatorship. But it also led to the creation of small anarchist groups, and indeed there was a steady growth of these until the crack-down in 1928. The decimation of the anarchist groups in that year led to a strengthening of the "syndicalists" within the C.N.T., who now formed groups within the trade unions set-up by the dictatorship.

The Founding of the FAI. 1927.

While the founding of the FAI in 1927 was in large part to halt the growing "syndicalist" consciousness of sectors of the C.N.T., it was also the culmination of a process which had begun in 1917, but which was seen to be even more necessary after the "failure" of the Russian Revolution. The isolation of the Spanish anarchist movement internationally after 1920 was exacerbated by the growing distance from other working class organisations in Spain. Although little result was achieved, the Communist Party had participated electorally in 1923, while the Socialist

Party was junior partner in a dictatorship which had been installed primarily to eliminate the C.N.T. This growing isolation led Spanish anarchists to establish contacts with other anarchist movements, such as Argentina and Portugal, countries which economically and culturally were closer to their own. This only served to further strengthen their resolve that anarchism, to survive this onslaught, had to organise its own forces, (which gave to sections of the FAI a missionary character), and to engage in "putschist" tactics within the trade unions, tactics hotly condemned by other libertarians within the C.N.T.

The Republic and the C.N.T.

Indeed, it is often claimed that it was the "putschist" tactics of the radicals within the C.N.T. which led to the overthrow of the "syndicalist / political" leadership in 1931, and led to the reversal, the facto, of the federations of industry proposal, approved at the 1931 congress. But it would be difficult to see a leadership, which argued for a dialogue with the Republican regime, continuing in its post during the radicalisation which took place during 1931. The massive strike wave of 1930 and 1931 was greatly radicalised by the maintenance of the mixed juries system, again under Largo's tutelage, who continued to believe that this was the way to undermine the C.N.T. The repression used against the C.N.T. during the Telephone strike^{in 1931,} clearly showed the nature of the Republican / Socialist coalition, which aimed to carry through a "bourgeois revolution" in Spain. The difficulties of this task without the support of the bourgeoisie, and in the context of severe economic crises, led to a great radicalisation of both Socialist and anarchist

workers, and increased the determination of the right to totally reverse the Republican reform programme and bring the "chaos" to an end.

The divisions within the C.N.T. were brought clearly to the surface during the first Republican years. The radicals, such as García Oliver, argued that the Republic should not be given time to stabilise itself, nor the right the opportunity to organise itself,, and therefore proposed a theory of "revolutionary gymnastics" to keep up the revolutionary tempo. The syndicalists, such as Peiró, believed that the C.N.T. should strengthen its trade union organisational efficiency, and accept Republican legality, as revolutionary change was not on the agenda. These different strategies were highlighted when the FAI led an insurrectionary attempt at Alto Llobregat in January 1931. The lack of solidarity shown by the Treintistas during the repression which followed was the direct cause for their expulsion in April 1932.

Undoubtedly the Treintistas represented sectors of the C.N.T. whose situation may even have improved during the first years of the Republic, or older workers who had been active for many years, and whose fighting energies had been somewhat depleted. Certainly the industrial towns where the Trientistas had their power base in Catalonia did not suffer so severely the effects of the acute agrarian crises, which kept a steady stream of immigrants coming into Barcelona, which, moreover, had a strongly organised employer class. For, while the whole of Spain was affected by the radicalisation of these years, it was in the latifundist region in the south, and in Barcelona where this process went furthest. As Preston has pointed out, the years of class warfare in the south, the "Trienio Bolsheviq" from 1918 to 1921, left such a legacy of bitterness that "reformist" solutions were impossible in the 1930's. I would argue that the years of terrible repression, and

the gunfights on the streets of Barcelona, would leave a legacy of bitterness here too, which would greatly impede "reformist" solutions. It was in these regions especially that the employers refused to recognise the reforms decreed by the first Republican government, and thus ensured that class conflict would remain at a high level. The continuing use of state repression against the labour movement, despite the presence of Socialists in the government, was a further source of radicalisation, and led directly to the downfall of the first Socialist / Republican coalition in 1933.

It was the failure to resolve the land problem which sealed the fate of the first Republican / Socialist government. The acute agrarian crises was exacerbated by the refusal of landowners to plant crops and abide by the reforms in working conditions, which created an insurrectionary situation in many parts of Spain. There is no doubt that the response to the FAI's call to insurrection in 1932 went far beyond what they had expected, and undoubtedly strengthened their belief that an insurrectionary strategy was correct. For their insurrectionary strategy was primarily addressed to rural workers, and was designed to keep the "land problem" to the fore. For there was a real danger during the first Republican years, that the divisions within the C.N.T. - between workers who had improved their standard of living and those whose living conditions had seriously deteriorated - would erode the solidarity so necessary for revolutionary change. Certainly the Treintistas within the C.N.T. represented more closely the vision of sectors of industrial workers, and the FAI feared, with good reason, that the plight of the agricultural labourers in the south would be forgotten, and an "economic consciousness" steadily gain ground.

It was the lack of resolution of the land problem which led to the radicalisation of the Socialist movement during these years, as the UGT's growth was primarily in the south amongst landless labourers. By 1933, when it was evident that even moderate reform was unacceptable to landowners, who were now organising their forces effectively to reverse the tide, revolutionary sentiments were increasingly voiced by Socialist workers, which forced Largo and the Socialist bureaucracy to echo these sentiments, ever fearful of a loss of membership. This radicalisation within Socialist ranks took place, as with the C.N.T., mostly amongst landworkers, the youth, and in industrial regions particularly affected by the economic crisis and the employers' unwillingness to recognise reform. The inroads that the C.N.T. and the Communists were making in the northern industrial zones, particularly Asturias, was undoubtedly worrying the Socialist bureaucracy, who increased their calls for revolution, a rhetoric which merely increased the fears of the middle classes and helped polarise the situation.

Revolution and the C.N.T.

The increasing realisation that bourgeois reform was impossible in Spain, and that a revolutionary solution was necessary, prompted C.N.T. militants to ask their leaders what form that revolution should take. The revolutionary ~~schemas~~ put forward by different sectors of the C.N.T. from 1932 shows the heterogeneous nature of Spanish anarchist thought, and the changes taking place within international anarchism from the late 1920's. Despite the divergent nature of these revolutionary plans, all these visions retained one fundamental anarchist organisational principle - federalism, and all saw their plans in relationship to

Marxism, and the lessons to be drawn from the failure of the Russian Revolution. Moreover, all these "utopias" accepted modern technology as their bases, and indeed it is in rural "utopia" of Urales and Esgleas that the benefits of modern technology is most highly stressed, as it would bring to an end the division between town and country by a rural industrialisation plan.

The fundamental differences between these projects lay in the nature of this revolutionary change, whether urban or rural, and what should be the basic organising unit, the municipality, the trade union or the factory committee. All, except Urales, had by now accepted the need for the federations of industry, reflecting the changes within the international anarchist movement, which approved this organising measure at its congress in 1928. Moreover, anarchists such as Leval argued the need for a "minimum" programme, while Santillan, the anarchist most influenced by Marxist thought, called for planning and accepted the need for a unitary economic command during the first phase of revolutionary change.

One of the most interesting projects was the one put forward by Besnard and Cornellisson, a model based on the Bela Kun Revolution in Hungary in 1919. Besnard argued that libertarian communism was a transitional period, like the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Marx and Engels, which would lay the basis for free communism, anarchism. Despite the important role which the trade unions would play within this process of transition, Besnard argued however that the basic cell should be the municipality, which, like the trade unions and the national federations of industry, would be federated, and would complement these economic organisations. These two types of organisations would work together, and take decisions and carry through a programme of large works. This project was not dissimilar from Orobón

Fernandez' notion of revolutionary working class unity, based on the Bavarian Republic of workers' councils of 1919 where all working class tendencies participated. Like Besnard, he argued for a parallel structure of municipalities and trade unions, federated to the national level, which would carry out socialisation of the entire economy.

While Gaston Leval defended the federations of industry against the notion of the free commune, he too, like Besnard and Orobón Fernandez, feared the effects of "total syndicalism", which, he argued, would lead the C.N.T. to develop along similar lines as the Soviet State. But the problems thrown up by the Russian Revolution could not be ignored, he argued, which led him to propose different organising bodies for different functions : the trade unions in industry, the municipality in agriculture, while the cooperatives would control exchange.

But it was the thought of Abad de Santillán, proponent of a "less material" type of anarchism in the early 1920's, which clearly reflected the changes taking place within international anarchism in the late 1920's, and the greater importance now being given to economic questions. Santillán, like Peiró, believed that the factory committee would form the basis of the new society, although regional organisations would be important. While continuing to propose a federal organisation in place of the state, Santillán's thought in all other respects places him close to "orthodox" Marxism, particularly his rejection of localism and his belief that the productive method would not be changed in future socialist society, despite the change in social property.

The revolutionary schemas of Besnard and Cornelisson are of the most important historical interest, I believe, as they attempt to map-out a plan for immediate post-revolutionary

society which breaks decisively with the Kropotkinist notion of instantaneous libertarian communist success. Their acceptance of a transitional "libertarian dictatorship" is redolent of the plan put forward by "Los Solidarios" in the early 1920's which shows that these anarchists, like Leval, were not simply "reacting" to the Russian revolutionary experience, but have studied it in depth in order to avoid its errors. It was not on the question of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" that these anarchists disagree with Marxism, but on the organisational question. For Besnard, like Orobón Fernandez, had been deeply impressed by the workers' council experiment of 1919, and therefore proposed both municipal and trade union organisations as a way of limiting the power of the trade unions and halting the development of a "trade union / political" leadership on the Soviet model. These plans imply that a degree of delegation is needed to carry through the economic transformation, although this would be controlled by the rank and file. This type of revolutionary schema places this anarchist tendency close to the "dissident" Marxism of Pannekoek, a Marxist who in many other respects had come to conclusions very similar to the anarchists. (6) .

Again, as in 1919, the development of a revolutionary situation in Spain placed the dilemma - between the commitment to the greatest democracy possible, and the urgent need for revolutionary change - to the forefront of debate within the C.N.T. By the 1930's however, the revolutionary situation had developed considerably, reflected in the radicalisation taking place within the Socialist Party, and the establishment of "the dictatorship of the proletariat", de facto, by the FAI during their attempts at insurrection in 1932 and 1933. But the class struggle taking place in Spanish society was also reflected within

the working class organisations themselves, and exacerbated the unevenness of development of the revolutionary forces in Spain. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than during the Asturian commune of October 1934, when Socialist, anarchist and communist workers held out for two weeks against bombing raids and artillery, while the Socialist leadership in Madrid either hid or went into exile.(7).

The Impact of Asturias on the C.N.T.

The experience of the Asturian commune had a profound effect upon the C.N.T. The notion of workers' unity was now seen by the C.N.T. as possible, and the idea of the workers' front approved at the Zaragoza Congress in 1936 was a recognition of the revolutionary nature of the Socialist rank and file, displayed at Asturias in October 1934. Indeed, libertarian communism was renounced as the exclusive revolutionary ideal, and the federal socialist republican formula implicitly accepted. For the growth in the strength of the Right, shown by their electoral success in November 1933, and the severe repression suffered by the organisation after the insurrection of December 1933, had changed dramatically the thinking of the C.N.T., and ended the insurrection strategy of the FAI, begun at the onset of the Republic in 1931. The opposition trade unions within the C.N.T. had too undergone great changes in their thinking and strategy. Their disgust at the ending of all activities of the Workers' Alliance in preparation for the February elections brought home to them very forcefully the nature of "electoral politics", and their anarchist reflexes were further triggered by the founding of Pestaña's Syndicalist Party in 1933.⁽⁸⁾ More importantly perhaps was the realisation that the rank and file of the C.N.T. did not want their trade union to participate within the electoral arena, and the Treintistas were thus prevented from evolving in a more "political" direction.

But their dealings with political parties through the Workers' Alliance had however convinced them of the need for a "political sphere" outside the trade unions, a need which they had already recognised "de facto" by setting-up their own specific organisation, the FSL, to control the trade unions within the opposition, thus playing the same role as the FAI.

The thought of Santillan, a leading "faista", and Peiró, the ideologue of the "syndicalists", shows to what extent both tendencies had altered their thinking by 1936. Both recognised the need for a "political sphere" outside the trade unions, so long as it respected the plurality of parties and tendencies and allowed each to carry through its own preferred social system. Peiró however took this analysis one step further, and, like Cornellisson, recognised the existence of the state after the proletarian conquest of power. These unprecedented ideological changes within sectors of the C.N.T. did not wholly find an expression at the Zaragoza Congress of 1936, despite the huge ideological leap undertaken vis-à-vis workers' unity and the adoption of the federal socialist republic. For the rural revolutionary model of Urales was approved as the definition of libertarian communism, and the free commune declared to be the basis of future society. The libertarian communist motion dealt in great detail with the organisation of future libertarian society, while the imminent fascist threat was simply ignored, as was the call from Santillan for at least an "hypothesis" programme. The approval of this motion has been seen as a victory for the "purist" tendency of the FAI, and the weight of the Textile trade union of Barcelona and the individual action of Urales' daughter, Federica Montseñy. (9).

There is little doubt as to the increasing power that the FAI was wielding within the C.N.T., through its place on the prisoners' committees and defence committees. The role of the national defence committee, composed of FAI and C.N.T. members, and the blurred boundaries between these

two organisations, was demonstrated during the uprising of January 1933, when the Levante and Andalusian regions followed the call from the national defence committee of the FAI, believing that this had been issued by the C.N.T. Greater centralisation had also accompanied the FAI's ascent to power within the organisation, as displayed during the January '33 insurrection, when all regions were asked to follow if one of the regions rebelled. Moreover, during their brief taste of power, when insurrection had led to the establishment of "libertarian communism", the FAI had shown no hesitation in setting-up small scale "dictatorships of the proletariat", although these were given the anarchist title of "committees for the defence of the revolution".

These developments were not recognised at Zaragoza, nor could they be, for the sole ~~raison~~'etre for the founding of the FAI in 1927 had been to guard against the Marxist menace and reformist deviations which were threatening the anarchist character of the C.N.T. Undoubtedly the increasing strength that the FAI was displaying within the C.N.T. was greatly aided by the split within the organisation in 1932. Certainly the Treintistas call for a dialogue with the Republic, its attitude towards strikes and its lack of solidarity was considered by large numbers of C.N.T. members as "reformist" during the first Republican years, and the faista call to insurrection had found good response in the rural zones. It was in this battle with the "reformist opposition" that the FAI leadership gained its revolutionary "mystique", and was forced, like the Treintistas, to increasingly rely on the "specific" organisation to control the trade unions within its orbit. The prestige which the faista leadership gained from its contest with the reformists led to the development of a "revolutionary orthodoxy" unparalleled in C.N.T. history, which would continue to see its main task as preserving its own definition of

anarchism, enshrined at the Zaragoza Congress of 1936, long after that definition had any real meaning.

There were however, other factors which influenced the approval of the libertarian communist model of Urales. For the alternative model of Peiró was based entirely on the organisation of a highly industrialised society, a model of limited applicability in 1930's Spain, still overwhelmingly agrarian. The resolution of the land question continued to be the most urgent problem in Spain, as the development of a revolutionary rural movement of these years bears out. Urales' plan, for all its limitations, did try to address this problem, which other sectors of the C.N.T. had either ignored or given limited attention.

But the fatal flaw of the Zaragoza Congress was its inability to deal with the fascist threat. Sections of the FAI, the anarcho-Bolsheviks of García Oliver and Durruti, were those most aware of this development, and called for urgent action from the C.N.T. This call was ignored. Instead, much of the time at the Congress was taken-up with outlining the nature of future libertarian society and the "new type" of personal relationships which would obtain. Never before in the history of the C.N.T. had such time and attention been given to this question, and it would seem that May 1936, was the most unlikely occasion to discuss it. But I would argue that, given the enormous changes in C.N.T. thinking - towards workers' unity and the acceptance of the federal socialist republic - it was now more important than ever to maintain libertarian communism as the goal of the C.N.T., just as in 1919 when the dictatorship of the proletariat was approved, the anarchists within the C.N.T. urged the C.N.T. to define itself by its libertarian communism.

However, the detailed description of "life in the new society" which the libertarian communist definition had acquired by 1936 demonstrates the changes which had taken place within the C.N.T. since 1919, when libertarian communism was simply stated as the goal of the C.N.T., and no attempt was made to define it, or limit it to any one particular anarchist conception of it. This does undoubtedly reflect the importance which the Kropotkinist leadership had acquired by 1936, through its increasingly centralised control of the organisation through the FAI. But the control which this "orthodoxy" was able to exert over the C.N.T. was still limited, as the motion on workers' unity and the acceptance of a federal republican socialist form of government demonstrates. For the class struggle taking place in Spanish society in the 1930's was also taking place within the C.N.T., and is especially reflected within the FAI itself. The FAI of Urales and Montseñy was increasingly contested by the "activist" FAI of Oliver and Durruti, which undoubtedly enjoyed great prestige within the organisation. In view of the development of this "alternative FAI" leadership, and the ideological "revision" implied at the Zaragoza Congress, it was more important than ever for the Kropotkinist FAI to buttress its power ideologically to maintain its position of leadership.

The nature of the class struggle in Spain certainly contributed to the victory of the extreme democratic schema of Urales, and would mean that the disciplined militia proposed by the "Nosotros" group would have little resonance within the organisation. (10) The continuing repressive nature of the Spanish state towards the C.N.T., supported by the Socialists in government during the first Republican years, and the intransigent nature of the employers' class, particularly in Barcelona and Andalusia, continued to radicalise

the C.N.T. in a democratic direction, thus reinforcing the Kropotkinist aspects of Spanish anarchism. But the Republic had also led to the improvement of workers' living standards in certain sectors, and was, after all, the first major attempt at reform since 1873. These divisions are reflected in the split within the organisation in 1932. The growth of the Right and the severe repression against the C.N.T. from 1933 undoubtedly highlighted the need for profound economic and democratic change, but also contributed to a more 'realist' strategy of workers' unity and the establishment of a regime where all working class tendencies would be represented. Thus, the divisions within the C.N.T., which the Republic had exposed and developed, were based on two models of democracy, again displaying the lack of enthusiasm felt by workers in parts of Spain for a party dictatorship.

The example of the Socialist Party during Asturias must surely have reinforced these extreme democratic feelings within the C.N.T. For while the Asturian Commune convinced the C.N.T. of the revolutionary nature of the Socialist rank and file, the shameful role of the bureaucracy during these events, which displayed the emptiness of its revolutionary rhetoric, undoubtedly contributed to the "anti-bureaucratic" notions of the free commune gaining ground. But, given the increasingly centralised role which the FAI was playing within the C.N.T., the "free commune" notion was primarily for public consumption, to ensure the dominance of the Kropotkinist FAI, a "duplicité" which would characterise the C.N.T. during the years of Civil War and the long years of exile during Francoism. For by 1936, the C.N.T. had within its ranks currents which based their analysis of society on a libertarian vision which went further than merely "reacting" to the deformations of Marxism, and indeed were arguing for a greater "openness" between these two currents

of socialism. However, the development of a leadership whose very existence depended on a dogmatic and unchanging view of anarchism, by its nature anti-Marxist, which exploited to the full the extreme democratic and anti-state feelings of its members, would continually prevent these currents from gaining expression within the C.N.T., and contribute greatly to the dramatic decline of anarchism in Spain in the late 1940's.

If it was in the struggle with the "reformists" within the C.N.T. during the Republic that a "revolutionary orthodoxy" was created, then it was the events of the Civil War which led to its increasing bureaucratisation and centralisation. The great dilemma facing the C.N.T. when it had insured that Catalonia was saved from the military insurgents, was whether to establish a "dictatorship" or collaborate with other Republican forces. The decision to collaborate, while simultaneously carrying through socialist revolutionary change, reveals the underlying dilemma posed to the anarchist movement in Catalonia, and the unevenness of the development of the revolutionary forces in Spain. For Largo Caballero had not answered the C.N.T.'s call for a revolutionary working class alliance, showing that, despite his revolutionary rhetoric, Largo was thoroughly committed to the Comintern line of a "popular front against fascism". As Andalusia had fallen almost immediately to the military insurgents, the C.N.T. was isolated within Catalonia, and any attempt to set-up an anarchist "dictatorship" there would certainly have been seen as a secessionist act, and unlikely to have been tolerated for long. Internationally too, the anarchists were viewed with hostility by the Western democracies and the Soviet state, both of whom were trying to "hold off" the fascist threat and whose policies towards Spain were therefore seen purely in terms of "foreign policy". Indeed, the great tragedy of the Spanish Civil War was that the revolutionary forces in Spain had developed at a time when almost everywhere in Europe, excluding France, the workers' movement had already suffered an enormous defeat, and was now within a defensive alliance with the democratic forces against fascism.

This international context would bear heavily on the Civil War, especially after the "missed opportunity" of the first days when workers could have ended the "military uprising" and avoided it becoming a full-fledged civil contest.⁽¹¹⁾ The nature of the Spanish Civil War, which had been preceded by five years of intense class conflict, is well-summed up by the dilemma, "war or revolution", a dilemma which affected the anarchist movement particularly. For it would seem that the C.N.T., like the Socialist Party and the UGT, was deeply divided about the ability to sustain revolutionary changes within the international and domestic context which obtained, and was propelled towards collectivisation by its own rank and file. Simultaneously, large numbers of C.N.T. members wished for collaboration with the other forces of the Popular Front, believing this to be the only way to achieve victory over the military Right, a right increasingly identified with the Axis powers. These divisions within the C.N.T. reflect the great differences between regions which led to the uneven development of the revolutionary forces in Spain, and the enormous difficulties of success in the context of a strong Right and the growth of fascism in Europe.

It was indeed in Catalonia, particularly Barcelona, where the revolution "went furthest". But the collectivisation experiment and the popular militia, supported by the C.N.T., were viewed with alarm by Stalin, fearful of the effect this would have on the Western democracies, particularly France, and the consequences for Soviet foreign policy which it implied. The Communist Party therefore proceeded to build-up its basis of support within the Catalan small peasantry and the middle classes, who increasingly opposed the collectivisation measures decreed by the C.N.T. within the Generalitat. The C.N.T.'s collaboration within both the Generalitat and the central government was thus

the major subject of debate and source of division within the Spanish anarchist movement. For Horacio Prieto, and the writer C.M. Lorenzo, government collaboration was not a great ideological "leap", but the culmination of a process which began on July 19th, when the C.N.T. led the struggle against the military insurgents. The various bodies which the C.N.T. dominated, such as the Council of Aragon, and the Committee of Public Safety in Malaga, reflected the power which the C.N.T. had in Spanish society, which would lead it inexorably towards government participation. They believe that the C.N.T. had no other choice but to collaborate, given the isolation of the anarchist movement internationally and on the domestic front. However, they argue that the C.N.T. should have developed a more coherent "political" strategy to deal with the Communist threat and protect the libertarian gains, and severely criticise the "ad hoc improvisation" which characterised the C.N.T.'s collaborationist period. The centralisation undertaken within the C.N.T. during the Civil War is seen by Lorenzo as proof that a degree of centralisation is inevitable, and necessary, and that libertarian ideology should recognise this, and not maintain the "fiction" of extreme democracy.

Indeed, Lorenzo argues that it was the "purists" within the C.N.T. who often went furthest in their bids for centralisation, for example the founding of the executive committee at the war's end. Therefore, both Lorenzo and Prieto argue for a "revision" of libertarian philosophy which takes into account the experience of the C.N.T. throughout its history, particularly the experience of Civil War. Lorenzo argues that the C.N.T. did in fact recognise this need at the national plenum of September 1937, when it rejected the Zaragoza Congress resolutions and called for nationalisations, economic centralisation, the need to recognise the small and medium bourgeoisie and agreed to political participation. ⁽¹²⁾

For others, however, the experience of C.N.T. collaboration proved how erroneous that strategy was. José Peirats and Vernon Richards argue that the C.N.T., lacking "political" experience and thus unable to "play the political game" would have been better served to continue in areas of struggle within which it had traditionally excelled - in the factories and neighbourhoods. By concentrating on these arenas, and deepening the social revolutionary aspects of the Civil War, the C.N.T. would have prevented the whole-scale disillusionment which invaded the Republic after the May'37 events, and which was an important factor in the defeat of the Republican forces. ⁽¹³⁾ For collaboration meant, in practice, that the C.N.T. had to continually restrict the social revolutionary gains of the war in exchange for ministerial power, a power which turned out to be illusory. ⁽¹⁴⁾

Very close to this perspective is the "revolutionary war strategy" of Camilo Berneri, a thesis sustained more recently by Noam Chomsky ⁽¹⁵⁾. Berneri argues that the Republican war strategy was wholly lacking in imagination and foresight, and was a crucial factor in accounting for the victory of Franco. Berneri points to the importance of Morocco in sustaining the military uprising, and argues that an uprising could easily have been incited here, thus creating difficulties for the military insurgents in terms of men and equipment. Similarly, calls to the French working class, then undergoing one of the largest strike movements in its history, under the Popular Front, would have certainly found good response. In Spain too, support could have been achieved by calling "across the lines" into Francoist territory, and a "Fifth Column" would have kept troops pinned down, and limited the Nationalist gains. Collaboration with a weak, and wholly inept bourgeois Republic was the most disastrous policy the C.N.T. could have followed, which led it inexorably towards stagnation and bureaucracy. ⁽¹⁶⁾

These were the kinds of debates I encountered within the C.N.T. during my field-trips in 1978 and 1979, reflecting

the importance of this period in C.N.T. history, and indeed in Spanish history itself. Certainly the Civil War, and the defeat of the Left, has been the main point of reference for all the anti-Francoist forces, and left a legacy of bitterness and disunity which greatly hindered any attempt to develop a coherent strategy against Franco. But the C.N.T. was the most affected by this period, as it had renounced one of its fundamental principles, anti-politicism, and gained little in exchange. It is certainly surprising that an organisation which prided itself in its activism and daring should not have contemplated "irregular" guerrilla warfare, or attempted to carry through a more thoroughly revolutionary strategy, which, with hindsight, probably has as much chance of success. For such was the strength of working class forces in Spanish society that had the workers been armed in the first days, the military uprising would have been immediately defeated, and a workers' regime installed under C.N.T. / U.G.T. tutelage. It was the fear of this prospect which led Republican leaders to try to come to some "deal" with the military insurgents, thus wasting crucial time which allowed the Nationalists to advance. (17).

I can only suggest that the support for a legal Republican government which they had helped to install, ran deeper amongst workers within the C.N.T. than is generally recognised, despite the existence of a large "radical" sector opposed to this course of action. For even here, amongst ^{the most} revolutionary and "advanced" sector of the working class, those who had spontaneously collectivised their industries and land in Catalonia and Aragon, "capitalist categories and institutions" persisted, reflected in the "revision" of many of the C.N.T.'s postulates at the Enlarged Economic Plenum at Valencia in January 1938. (18) The collectives had shown the difficulties of installing immediately the libertarian communist dream of a totally egalitarian society, difficulties exacerbated by the regional and localist feelings of C.N.T. workers and their lack of administrative capability.

If revolutionary syndicalist notions appear to have been vindicated by the collectivist experiment, then the anarchists' fear of "total syndicalism" was also proved to have been justified, as "syndicalist" notions were a major stumbling block to creating more democratic and egalitarian relationships.

The limitations of the collectivist experiment have of course to be placed in the context of war, which dictated a policy of "war communism". Shortages of war materials and the hostility of the central government to initiatives which would have allowed the collectives to remedy some of these defects were crucial in retaining their "ad hoc" and improvisory character. For despite their serious limitations, the greatest achievement of the collectives had been their ability to create and improvise, and in so doing succeeded in sustaining the war effort for three years. This was no mean feat when it is remembered that workers had to rely solely on their own efforts, and were constantly under threat from the central government, the Western Democracies and Stalin's Russia. That they were able to produce in this hostile environment does seem to prove the anarchists' notion of the "creative spontaneity of the masses", and would leave a legacy, as we shall see, which would greatly contribute to the re-birth of anarchist thought in the early 1970's.

But alongside this important "creative" legacy of the Civil War period lay another - the bureaucratisation and centralisation which the C.N.T. had undergone, exacerbated by the years of exile in France. For the C.N.T., as we have seen, had contained within itself many different and diverse ideological currents, and these would again come into play, in a somewhat modified form, during the reconstruction of the organisation in 1976. What the C.N.T. had represented "historically" was one of the major reference points for these tendencies, which coincided with the role that the C.N.T. was seen to be best able

to play in the late 1970's. The struggle for definition of the C.N.T. was invariably waged with reference to its history, particularly the developments which took place during the Republic and Civil War. But the "revolutionary orthodoxy" which had grown within the C.N.T. during that period wished to simply erase the Civil War years from C.N.T. history, and return to the "status quo ante" of the Zaragoza Congress of May, 1936. This struggle, between an anarchist "orthodoxy" and those who wished to construct a "new type of C.N.T.", is, I believe, of important historical interest, as it reflects not just the continuing relevance of anarchism in Spain, but also the fact that all ideologies, even those considered the most "revolutionary", can be "used" to maintain positions of power. Again, this seems to prove the libertarian notion of "power", which is not always and everywhere related directly to economic interests of a crude kind, although these interests do seem to have been present in some measure in the "orthodoxy's struggle for control.

The "political" nature of this bureaucracy, and the type of "clan" in-fighting which characterised it during the years of reconstruction from 1976 to 1979, cannot be understood without a look at the years of exile in France from 1939, when the legal existence of the organisation often came in conflict with its declared aim of the struggle against the Francoist dictatorship. It is this conflict which would determine the nature of the C.N.T. in 1976, and finally lead to the demise of the organisation in 1979.

CHAPTER 1.

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2. Both Dick Geary and Fernando Claudín agree that there was no massive affiliation to the Communist Parties in other countries of Europe, and the majority of workers remained within their social-democratic organisations.
D. Geary: European Labour Protest. 1848-1939.
London, 1981.
F. Claudin: La Crises del Movimiento Comunista.
de la Komintern al Kominform.
Paris, 1977. (Part 1).
3. In Sabadell, for example, centre of Treintista power in the 1930's, the employers had been unable to organise to any extent, and had to accede to workers' demands, even when labour costs amounted to 50% of their total costs.
A. Balcells: Trabajo industrial y organización obrera en la Cataluña contemporánea.
Barcelona, 1974.
4. Dick Geary has noted that it was these sectors of workers in these industries who were at the forefront of radical politics in the 1890's in other European countries.
Geary. op. cit.
5. The "Trienio Bolshévique", from 1918 to 1921 in the south, was characterised by militant strikes and land seizures, reflecting the high level of class struggle in the southern provinces which followed the Russian revolution. These upheavals were brought to an end by Primo's dictatorship in 1923.
6. Pannekoek, a Dutch Marxist who called for the organisation of workers' councils, would be an important influence within the "autonomous" movement in Barcelona and Madrid which developed in the late 1960's. His criticism of Leninism led him to conclusions similar to the anarchists. This debate will be taken up in the conclusions of the thesis.
7. A major preoccupation of the Left at this time was the CEDA, an alliance of several right-wing parties, formed with the sole aim of reversing the moderate reforms decreed by the first Republican/Socialist coalition from 1931 to 1933. Gil Robles, the CEDA

leader, was well-known for his fascist sympathies, and the Socialists feared a re-enactment of Austria, where the Socialists had been decimated at the hands of Dolfuss. These fears were exacerbated when Robles threatened he would no longer support the Radicals in parliament, implying that he wished to install an all-CEDA government. The flame was finally ignited on October 1st., when the President asked the Radical Lerroux to form a government, with three minor posts for the CEDA. The Asturian uprising, which united Socialists, communists and anarchists for the first time in a revolutionary venture, was staged primarily to halt the CEDA's rise to power in the government. The level of repression used at Asturias, where Moorish mercenaries under General Franco were used, reflected the intensification of the class struggle, and showed that there would be no return to a "middle ground" which had characterised the first Republican years.

8. The notion of a Workers' Alliance came from Maurin's BOC (Bloque Obrero y Camperol), from 1933, to which the Izquierda Comunista, a small Trotskyist group, adhered. The idea of workers' unity gained much ground after the victory of the Right in the elections of November, 1933, and workers' alliances were set-up in many parts of Spain in early 1934, which the Tréintistas joined. The Workers' Alliance was not taken up by the two major workers' organisations, the CNT and the UGT. The elections of February, 1936, were won by the Left in the Popular Front.
9. A. Elorza: La Utopía Anarquista bajo la segunda república Española. Madrid, 1973.
10. The "Nosotros" group (previously "Los Solidarios"), called for the organisation of efficient combat units to confront the fascists.
C.M.Lorenzo: Los Anarquistas españoles y el poder. Paris, 1972.
11. Paul Preston: The Spanish Civil War. 1936-1939. London, 1986.
12. C.M. Lorenzo outlines Horacio Prieto's argument, which is essentially the same as his own, in Los Anarquistas españoles y el poder. op. cit.
13. The struggle between the revolutionary forces, the CNT and the POUM, and the Communist Party and its allies, the Catalan Left Republicans (Esquerra), was hotting up during the months which preceded May, 1937. The latter, from their power base in the the Catalan autonomous government (the Generalitat), limited the scope and activity of the collectivised factories, dissolved the workers' supply committees and workers' control over the customs. Sabotage, armed robberies, killings and mutual accusations increased throughout the first months of 1937, and it was clear that a showdown was inevitable. It came on May 3rd., when three lorries of Assault Guards, under the command of Salas, Commiss-

ioner of Public Order and PSUC member, stormed the telephone exchange in Barcelona, which had been managed by a CNT/UGT committee since July 19th. Workers armed themselves and built barricades, under the leadership of middle-level militants of the CNT/FAI and the POUM. The fighting, which extended to many other towns in Catalonia, lasted a week, and claimed 500 dead and more than a thousand wounded. From the beginning the anarchist leadership called on the workers to lay down their arms and negotiate.

Certainly May '37 represented the victory of the counter-revolutionary forces, and a severe curtailment of the revolutionary aspects of the Civil War. The disillusionment which overtook the population in the Republican zone when the direction of the war was increasingly entrusted to the moderate Socialists and their allies, the Communists, has been seen as an important factor in the defeat of the Republic.

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14. Jose Peirats: La CNT en la revolucion espanola.
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15. Camilo Berneri: Guerra de Clases en España. 1936-1937.
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16. C. Berneri. op. cit.

17. Paul Preston. op. cit.

18. As many CNT militants themselves realised, there were inherent problems in the collectivist experiment. For example, many less ideologically-committed workers saw the new workers' control regime merely as a guarantee of their weekly wages, while in the rural collectives of Aragon there were cases of peasants throwing away bread, now it was "free". There was too the problem of "syndicalisation", as each trade union considered the collectives under its control as its own, while in the woodworkers' union the structure became increasingly hierarchical, with virtually no workers involved in decision-making. It was in an attempt to remedy some of these defects in the collectivist system that the Enlarged Economic Plenum of the CNT was held in Valencia, in January, 1938, which revised many of the organisation's former postulates. Among the most important motions approved were: the creation of an inspectors' corp which would be able to sanction workers, the recognition of differential salaries, the creation of a trade union

bank, the administrative centralisation of all industries and agrarian collectives controlled by the CNT, general planning to be carried out by an Economic Council of the CNT, the development of consumer co-operatives under centralised control, and the adoption of general work norms. The practical impact of these proposals was extremely limited however, due to the war. But, as Lorenzo says: "They constituted a step forward in the re-appraisal of theoretical anarchism."

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CHAPTER 2.

The C.N.T. in the 1940's.

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THE C.N.T. : 1939 - 1951

As Paul Preston has said, there is a case for dating the end of the Civil War to 1951, as the tone of these years continued to be of an overwhelmingly military character. ⁽¹⁾ Certainly, though more systematic and institutionalised, the repression carried-out by the Francoist regime in the 1940's was a continuation of the terror tactics employed by the Nationalists during the Civil War itself. While trade union organisation always formed part of the opposition's strategy, resistance of a military nature, in the rural and urban guerrilla, was the logical response to this systematic terror of the Francoist state. The withdrawal of the guerrilla in 1951, and the increasing stability of the Francoist state within the international context of Cold War, meant the end of all hope of defeating Franco by military means, and ushered in a new period of anti-Francoist struggle.

Spain in the aftermath of the Nationalist victory could be summed-up in two words : hunger and terror. Franco had refused to negotiate with the National Defence Council, the sole remaining representative of Republican Spain, and called for unconditional surrender. Franco was to show no mercy to the vanquished ; it is estimated that 250 executions took place daily, many more were sent to concentration camps, or organised in work battallions, while others were sent away from their own localities to others where they were kept under constant police surveillance. ⁽²⁾ One of the most horrific incidents took place at Alicante, where 30,000 fleeing Republicans were stranded when ships to transport them failed to arrive. Many preferred to commit suicide rather than submit to the terror of the victors. The rest were taken to the concentration camp

of Los Almedos, where they were kept without food and shelter, where they resorted to eating leaves and grass in order to survive. This, clearly, was not seen to be sufficient punishment : in the night, Falange firing squads would come and pick out those they wanted. (3).

While all those with Republican sympathies suffered the rigours of the newly-constituted authoritarian state, the greatest repression was unleashed against the working class organisations, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Workers were forced to eat their trade union cards, and vetted continuously by the Falange, who issued a "good conduct" pass for those they considered worthy of employment. Massive sackings, detentions and executions awaited all those who had belonged to either trade union, despite Franco's assurances that those who had not "shed blood" would be pardoned. (4). It is ^{not} surprising that the C.N.T.'s strategy during this period was primarily one of saving as many lives as possible, either by hiding them, giving them false documents, or getting them out of Spain. Added to the terror and humiliation was the devastation caused by the war itself, and the difficulties of getting production going again. Most of the population lived on potatoes and onions. Black market activities flourished, as did prostitution and robbery, exacerbated by the regime's policy of employing only workers untainted by any "red" past. Many of the most compromised militants took to the mountains to form the guerrilla, which reached enormous proportions : it is estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 guerrilleros were active in Spain during these years. (5). It was one of the ways to escape from the terror of the death squads, and to avoid the humiliations meted out to those loyal to the Republican regime.

In this context, as Paul Preston says, it is remarkable that there was any resistance at all. (6). For the C.N.T. reorganisation took place in the prisons, where the most experienced and well-known militants were to be found. The first national committee was formed in the prison camp of Albaterra, with

Pallarols as secretary, whose principal task was the falsification of documents. Many well-known militants were saved either by bribing prison guards or by supplying false documents. By September, just six months after the Nationalist victory, escape routes to France had been established, the border crossed, and communication with the exile organisation set-up. The C.N.T. tried to impress on the delegates of the J.A.R.E. and the S.E.R.E. the desperate situation in Spain, and the need for more funds, as bribery was one of the major ways of saving lives. ⁽⁷⁾ Little help was forthcoming, however.

During these early years of the immediate post-civil war, committees were set-up and functioned simultaneously, unaware that the others existed, declaring themselves representative of the organisation. ⁽⁸⁾ Despite the almost constant detention of committee members, re-organisational efforts continued, and by spring 1940, a clandestine infrastructure of publications and falsifications of documents had been set-up, contacts throughout the regions established, and regular contact with the exile organisation undertaken.

The Young Libertarians were important in this process. Experienced, yet less well known, they refurbished the cadres of the parent organisation, and were invaluable in sustaining organisational efforts. ⁽⁹⁾ While groups from the exterior came to Spain to help in the reconstruction, it is important to stress that the organisation emerged from the interior, spontaneously, and was almost exclusively manned by militants from inside Spain. Indeed, many of the members of these groups complained of the passivity shown by the exile organisation in France, so that once in Spain they were forced to establish contact at an individual level, with militants they had previously known. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Not surprisingly, the organisation functioned on the basis of personal contact, of elites formed before or during the Civil War, and committee members were elected because of their well-known merits. It was not until 1943 that the national committee was elected by normal organisational means, in a national plenum of regionals. ⁽¹¹⁾

One of the most spectacular forms of resistance action against Franco was that of the urban guerrilla. C.N.T. militants were at the forefront of guerrilla activities in Barcelona, and their aim was not just to act as defence groups for trade unions and confederal committees, but more importantly to create a climate of fear and demoralisation amongst members of the Francoist institutions. These groups were ephemeral, with members coming and going, and groups were created and dissolved. They were created on a neighbourhood basis, mostly by Young Libertarians, without any organisational link with the C.N.T. ⁽¹²⁾. They carried-out bank and factory robberies, revolutionary "expropriations", and assaults on offices and buildings of the regime. Miguel García explains why such actions were necessary : "The weekly stamp (from the trade unions), was more a means of building morale than covering the cost of the organisation. We had to raise funds for printing presses, arms, aid for prisoners and innumerable families. So we had to organise bank raids on a large scale." ⁽¹³⁾. Revolutionary "expropriations", though less frequent, were another source of fund raising. Industrialists, whose factories had been collectivised, were presented with a bill to compensate the workers for the good care they had taken of their factories in their absence, which had often doubled in value under the regime of workers' control. As a gun was put to their head, they had little option but to accede to the demand. ⁽¹⁴⁾. Undoubtedly, the general atmosphere of war and revenge meant that many operations were carried-out by individuals on their own initiative, without the knowledge of other members of the groups. The fact that they were not done in the name of the movement gave the impression that they could more or less do as they wanted. ⁽¹⁵⁾. They could also be seen as mere adventurism, such as the Casita Blanca night-club hold-up, carried-out by Facerías, one of the most legendary figures of the urban guerrilla. ⁽¹⁶⁾. However, their role as morale booster should not be underestimated, as an imprisoned militant of these years explains :

"Okay -- so the 'boys' (of the action groups) were a bit hot-headed -- maybe some people got killed that didn't deserve it - though they usually picked their targets well. But the people they helped in the prisons - we'll not forget them - they were our only hope. While those bastards settled-down to a comfortable life in France (i.e. the exile organisation), we were rotting in rat-infested holes, while our families almost starved. Who was going to employ the wife or son of X ? That's when there was work. You can't imagine the hunger of that time. At one point my family were eating leaves. One of my daughters died. You've no idea the joy and relief I felt when I heard that the "boys" had sent them 10,000 pesetas. I wasn't so bothered about myself so much, it was that they were doing that for them. For if they (i.e. the action groups) killed the odd innocent person, that was nothing compared to what the Francoists had done to thousands upon thousands of innocent people. What crimes had my wife and children committed ?"

Barcelona , 1979.

Certainly, the robberies and hold-ups which took place were seen as acts of justice, and in most cases were a means of survival. But the urban guerrilla also saw itself as the embryo of a future army of liberation (as did the rural guerrilla). For the main reason why there was such widespread resistance, even within the context of terror and starvation, was the hope that the Allied victory would inevitably lead to the liberation of Spain. For it was the support of the Axis powers which had guaranteed Franco's success in the Civil War, and the Falange were now calling for intervention on the side of the fascists in the Second World War. It was in this spirit of anti-fascism that hundreds of thousands of Spaniards took up arms in the French resistance, and many thousands of them interned in concentration camps. ⁽¹⁷⁾ When France was occupied in mid-1940, these Spaniards were faced with a difficult choice : if they stayed in France they would be persecuted by the Gestapo, which collaborated with the Spanish Embassy (in fact 40,000 had been sent back to Spain by the Vichy government). Given this situation, many preferred to go back to Spain clandestinely, and take up the struggle there. The C.N.T. thus received an influx of militants which

would greatly help in the reorganisational efforts taking place. (18)

The feeling of optimism grew when the Allies landed in Normandy in the summer of 1944. The liberation of France meant that 10,000 Spaniards from the French resistance were available to attack Spain. The Union Nacional Espanola, which controlled the Republican army, moved its forces along the entire Pyrenean border. Interpretations of this invasion in the Valle de Aran differ widely. For Paul Preston, a conventional military incursion had no hope of success against Franco's well-equipped army, and the snow-bound Pyrenees were the most unlikely place to pick-up support. It was moreover, badly organised and ill-timed : morale was low and people were not even aware that it had taken place . (19)

Alberto Hernando however, believes that the timing could not have been better. France was in a euphoric revolutionary mood, and the Republicans had large quantities of arms and well-trained cadres. If they had managed to control even a small part of the territory and set-up a Republican government in exile, the Allies may have been forced to intervene, and French public opinion may have reacted favourably and called for intervention. He believes the major error was a political one. The venture was doomed because there was no legal Republican government in existence, and the Communist Party's role alienated much support. (20). Certainly the disorientation of the Communist Party, pressured by different warring factions, and in the last instance a victim of the Kremlin-Allied Pact (in which Spain remained within the Anglo-Saxon zone of influence), meant numerous political and military errors. (21). The Communist Party leader, Santiago Cartillo, with express orders from the executive, arranged a retreat. The attack had lasted ten days and had cost the lives of between 3,000 and 4,000 guerrillas. (22).

After the failed invasion the remaining guerrillas found their way to other Spanish regions, to join-up with those already there. The Communist Party were the predominant force within these units, although important guerrilla nuclei of the C.N.T. were active in Andalusia and Galicia, and certain parts of Catalonia. ⁽²³⁾ The rural guerrilla carried-out similar actions as the urban guerrilla, attacking Civil Guard stations, Falange locals and cutting power lines. Although unable to carry through actions on a broad scale, they were however important in pinning down large numbers of troops, which Gallo believes was one of the reasons why Franco did not intervene on the side of the Axis in the Second World War. ⁽²⁴⁾

As the end of the Second World War approached, and the Allied victory assured, a broad alliance of the Republican forces was created in October 1944, the A.N.F.D. (National Alliance of Democratic Forces), in which the C.N.T. played an important part. ⁽²⁵⁾ Hopes were further raised after the issuing of the Tripartite Note, in March 1946, signed by the United States, France and Britain, which called for the creation of a ~~transitional~~ regime which would supervise a constitutional referendum. It was during these years that the C.N.T. built-up an important trade-union network, which appeared as one militant of the time said, as if trade union freedom existed. ⁽²⁶⁾ This was, of course more widespread in Catalonia, although certain regions, such as Galicia, Alicante and Murcia, had all their ~~regional~~ and local federations functioning. ⁽²⁷⁾ The reorganisational process was greatly helped by the unification of the various regional committees in operation in Catalonia, at the beginning of 1944. The ~~areas~~ of Badalona, Sabadell, Mataro, Grenollers, Bajo Llobregat, Villanueva y Geltru and Igualada del Penedes, were organised, as were the provincial committees of the four Catalanian provinces. Even factory and neighborhood committees were set-up. The number of trade union members varied, but by 1945, it is estimated that 30,000 due-paying members were enrolled in the organisation, which rose to 60,000 in 1947. Badalona alone had 6,000, and the leading libertarian newspaper, Solidaridad Obrera, had an estimated readership of 6,000. ⁽²⁸⁾

In the years immediately following the Civil War, with the massive sackings, detentions and executions, it is ^{not} surprising that there was little workers' resistance. Action was primarily defensive, limited to acts of sabotage and go-slows. But as the workers, and their organisations, slowly recovered, and with hopes that liberation was at hand, there was a dramatic increase in protest actions and strikes, primarily over food shortages and super-exploitation, which on a few occasions, ended in victory for the workers. (29)

This level of organisation was achieved under the three most effective regional committees, that of Peris, July 1945 - June 1946, Felix Carrasquer, June till December' 46 and that of German Estevez, February 1947 - May 1947, and the national committee of Enrique Marcos Nadal, June 1946 - May 1947, was important in establishing regular contact between the regionals, between the different political groups within the A.N.F.D., trade unions and guerrillas. Regional and national plenums were held, and committee members elected in more representative forums. (30)

Certainly this degree of organisation did not go unnoticed by the police. Repression was continuous in Catalonia, especially as it was here where the greatest urban guerrilla activity took place. Almost as soon as a regional committee was organised, it fell. Few regional committees lasted more than six months. The members who hadn't been detained would immediately organise yet another committee, taking over the tasks which the previous committee had begun. From the unification of committees in 1944 till July 1946, five regional committees were detained. One of the greatest round-ups took place in November 1945, when the regional committee was detained, together with the printing press and much valuable material. (31). However, Catalonia was better equipped to deal with police repression than other regions. The great sympathy which the Catalan proletariat felt for the C.N.T. allowed militants a

greater degree of protection than in other provinces. Bars were often used for collecting dues, and militants hidden in "safe" houses. The proximity to France meant that arms, printing equipment and paper were more readily available, and the organisation replenished by cadres and militants from the neighbouring country. Moreover, the Catalan organisation was further strengthened by C.N.T. members escaping from their own provinces to find anonymity in Barcelona. Some of the most important militants in the reorganisation process were the groups from Aragon (Cesar Broto and Félix Carrasquer) and the Levante (Peris and German Estevez). ⁽³²⁾ But it does seem extraordinary that such a level of organisation was tolerated in Catalonia, for the police at all times had their informers working within the organisation. This was the period when the opposition's activities were at their peak, and Carrasquer believes that the instability of the regime was such that both capitalist employers and members of the Francoist regime gave financial help and information to the C.N.T. in order to gain some democratic credentials. In fact, Carrasquer's committee supplied special cards which credited those who gave such help. ⁽³³⁾ Antonio Tellez seems to suggest that the organisation was allowed to function so that it could be informed on, and its actions and members controlled in this way. ⁽³⁴⁾ A fuller explanation will not be possible until police and state files of this period are available.

Despite this remarkable reorganisational achievement, all was not well within the C.N.T.. The C.N.T.'s actions during the Civil War, with anarchist ministers in government and the ideological changes which had taken place, i.e. the calling for a federal socialist republic which recognised other socialist currents and postponed the anarchist ideal, brought about a major re-think amongst some of the leading militants within the organisation. As C.M. Lorenzo says, these could be divided into two tendencies: those who believed that the revolution had been lost because of the abandonment of anarchist principles, and those who felt that it was these principles

which had caused the failure of the anarchist project during the Civil War. (35) .

For Garcia Oliver and Horacio Prieto, the trade union was not suitable either for the seizure of power or political intervention, and therefore the C.N.T. should remain apolitical. The experience of the Civil War, however, had demonstrated the need for a political instrument. For Garcia Oliver that instrument should be a political party, dedicated to the seizure of power. Prieto also believed that the libertarian movement should create a political party, but not for the seizure of power. This political party should intervene within the apparatus of the bourgeois state, and thus extend libertarian influence and power. (36) . Both believed that continuing political collaboration was necessary, and Oliver was one of the first to call for a broad alliance of Republican forces before the end of the Second World War, to agree a common programme for the installation of a democratic government, of a revolutionary socialist persuasion. (37) .

Others were embittered by the kind of treatment they had received from the other "political" forces during their brief spell of political participation in the Popular Front government of 1936 - 1939. Jose Peirats believed that the C.N.T. should have continued to act in arenas in which it had traditionally proved effective i.e. in the factories and neighbourhoods, and consolidated its power base there. This was the kind of action which the C.N.T. did best. In the political world, the C.N.T. was always at a disadvantage. (38) . Many other militants, among them Germinal Esgleas and Federica Montseny, held a similar view. Participation in government had failed to protect libertarian conquests and had proved the validity of traditional anarchist tenets. These years were seen as a sort of interregnum, as the exception which proved the rule, and needless to say, should never be repeated. (39) .

For the C.N.T. militants inside Spain, suffering continuous repression, such ideological questions did not arise. The majority were committed to a common front with other Republican forces to bring an end to repression and allow freedom of association. Indeed, the libertarians were one of the most important forces within the A.N.F.D., even supporting the "monarchist option" when it became clear that the Allied powers would only contemplate an alliance which would include the monarchists. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Others believed that some kind of understanding could be reached with the more "workerist" section of the Falange, thus "liberalising" the regime and avoiding more atrocities. Certainly the regime was in need of experienced syndicalists to run its huge union network, the C.N.S., and some members of the Syndicalist Party, and ex-Treintistas, such as Sebastian Clará, José Corbellá, Corronz and Ricardo Fornells, accepted posts within it. ⁽⁴¹⁾ It is remarkable, given the hunger and brutality of the time, that so few militants collaborated preferring, like Juan Peiró, to give up their lives rather than submit. ⁽⁴²⁾ According to C.M. Lorenzo, the political / apolitical split within the organisation did not appear until the beginning of 1945. Up till then the libertarian movement had been united behind the republican alliance policy initiated in July 1936, and ratified at a regional plenum in Toulouse in October 1944, and inside Spain at the national plenum of March 1944. Dramatic changes took place however, at the beginning of 1945, when it seemed inevitable that the Francoist regime would not be tolerated after the defeat of the Axis powers. It is hardly surprising, Lorenzo says, that in this state of optimism many libertarians believed that the revolutionary conquests of July 1936 should be restored in their entirety, and all alliances with the moderate republican forces severed, as they saw the latter as those most responsible for the military uprising and the anti-fascist defeat. The dissident voices against the "political" line of the organisation were such that the secretary of the time, Juanel, called a congress in an attempt to heal the differences. The outcome was

ambiguous in the extreme : while the "radicals" won the motions on direct action, anti-parliamentarianism and the revolutionary tradition of the C.N.T., the moderate motions which called for a return to the Popular Front actions of 1936 - 1939 were also approved, as were others which sanctioned the resolutions of the economic plenum of January 1938. (43) But the leadership now passed to the "radicals", who won an overwhelming majority, while the "political" faction immediately set about creating their own secret national sub-committee. The C.N.T. was now divided, with two sets of leaderships and policies which would be duplicated within Spain itself, with "committees of both factions competing for power and influence. As Lorenzo says :

"The political / personal differences were to lead to the disintegration of the C.N.T. "de jure" without taking into account the common interests of anti-francoism and the freedom of the Spanish people, just as its sister trade union, the U.G.T., had been split between a U.G.T. of communist persuasion and a social democratic U.G.T., itself divided "de facto" into various belligerent factions. The crisis of the libertarian movement must be seen within the general crisis of the Spanish left. Defeated, and ailing, it was unable to take advantage of the occasions which may have allowed it to recover."

Lorenzo, Paris, 1969.

Certainly, the C.N.T. was not alone in being beset by fractional strife. The internal / external split affected all the parties within the Republican alliance, and none more so than the Communist Party, which executed one of its leaders, Trilla, in 1945. The struggle between the exile leadership, who obediently accepted Soviet policy, and those within Spain who wished to pursue a more independent strategy, was particularly acrimonious. (44) . As Paul Preston says, "It could only have been demoralising for the militants in Spain to see their comrades and leaders denounced as traitors and provocateurs, as agents of the Gestapo and of American imperialism, by leaders in exile." (45) .

Indeed, division and fractional strife were to characterise the attempts by the anti-francoist opposition to bring about some sort of democratic change for Spain. The Republican government in exile, was set-up late (January 1945), and obstinately held to the 1931 Republican formula when it was patently obvious that the Allies, in their Tripartite Note of March 1946, would only consider a broad alliance which would include the monarchists. The A.N.F.D. too was committed to a return to the Republican legality overthrown in 1939, but having to suffer the repression, was more pragmatic, and realised that the Republican government in exile was not going to play a major role, given that the Allies had refused to recognise it. The Socialists of Indalecio Prieto were in favour of a plebescite, in Spain this position was upheld by Juan Jose Luque, representative of the C.N.T. on the national committee of the A.N.F.D.. It is not known to this day whether Luque was a monarchist infiltrator or a sincere libertarian, but whatever, he played an important part in the negotiations between the monarchists and libertarians, and helped convince the latter of the monarchist cause. (46).

At the end of 1945, the British Embassy contacted the A.N.F.D. to sound-out their views on a monarchist restoration (apparently supported by the French and the U.S.), and called on the Socialist delegate of the Alliance, Orche, to see them. Not being authorised to agree, he transmitted the message to the Alliance. The C.N.T. sent out the proposals to be studied to the different regionals and guerrilla groups. Before a decision could be reached, however, Luque had already reached an unilateral agreement with the monarchists. Although the C.N.T. denied this and denounced Luque's action, they sent García Durán to see Giral and his government (this action was supported by the rest of the Alliance), to see what they thought of the option. In fact, the C.N.T. delegates in the alliance, supported by Sevilla, a Republican and Orche, a Socialist, were the ones who favoured the "restoration" and consistently urged the Alliance to accept the idea of a plebescite. (47).

Of course, many within the C.N.T. were not happy with the discussions with the monarchists, especially in Catalonia. However, they allowed the national committee in Madrid to carry-on the conversations. But with the publication in the C.N.T. newspaper of the Pretender's manifesto, there was an important split within the Young Libertarians, at the end of 1945 or the beginning of 1946. Also there is evidence which suggests that the Esgleist faction was trying to stir-up discord within the organisation. (48). From then on, they would use this group of Young Libertarians to echo their ideas within Spain. (49).

The history of the A.N.F.D. from the beginning of 1946 until its disappearance at the end of 1948 is one of sectarianism and total lack of strategy. At first the Socialists would not negotiate with the monarchists, but after the Tripartite Note the A.N.F.D. were unanimous in calling for monarchist participation. But the Giral government continued to call for the restoration of the Republic and left the A.N.F.D. no option but to call on the monarchists to participate within a wide coalition to overthrow Franco, and conversations finally took place in July 1946. However, the A.N.F.D. wasted its strength negotiating with two monarchist factions; Aranda in the interior, and Gil Robles in Portugal. Towards the end of 1946, Robles gained the upper hand, and won Santamaría, political secretary of the C.N.T. and general secretary of the A.N.F.D., to his notion of a Restoration on the lines of 1876. Santamaría was then removed by the C.N.T. and replaced by Luque, who broke off negotiations with Robles and speeded-up negotiations with Aranda, considered more of a "liberal". (50).

The United Nations resolution, which condemned Franco and withdrew ambassadors, helped to accelerate the negotiations with the monarchists. The Pretender called on the C.N.T. to negotiate with him in Lisbon, and was replied by Luque in his famous "Mensaje al Predendiente", which refused a deal without

the rest of the opposition. Don Juan never replied personally and didn't answer Luque's note until February 1947. The monarchists were playing a waiting game, realising that the anti-francoist opposition was split into numerous factions and had no international support. If they waited long enough, it would simply disintegrate of its own accord. (51). It is doubtful if the monarchists ever seriously considered joining the anti-francoist front, and much more likely, as Preston says, that after financing Franco's effort, they were trying to show him that their loyalty could not be taken for granted. (52) In an attempt to have the Republican government in the hands of someone who would embrace the monarchist option, Giral was ousted and replaced by the Socialist, Llopis, in January 1947. But this was to little avail, and the next period saw the total eclipse of the A.N.F.D. and any semblance of anti-francoist unity. Both the C.N.T. and the Socialists negotiated separately with the monarchists, meeting Gil Robles, and conceding more and more ground to him. He succeeded in convincing many libertarians, such as José Pineda, Leiva, and above all Juan López, who met Robles in June 1948, that the monarchist option was the only hope. (53). These separate negotiations embittered relations between the Socialist Party and the C.N.T. Each one tried to eliminate the other, while accusing each other of bad faith. By the beginning of 1948, the A.N.F.D. no longer existed. By the time the Socialists finally reached agreement with the monarchists, Franco had already agreed a solution with the Pretender in the summer of 1948. As always, Franco had acted with his customary skill, and satisfied the monarchists by introducing the Law of Succession, in July 1947, by way of referendum. He retained the right to elect the king of his choice, if not Don Juan, then his son Juan Carlos. He renewed his promises from time to time, until finally, in July 1967, he chose Juan Carlos as the future king of Spain. (54).

Resistance during these years remained at a high level, and indeed, the C.N.T. reached the zenith of its organisational efforts between 1946 and 1947. 1947 was a year of increasing protests on the labour front, which culminated in a general

strike in the Basque provinces on the first of May. In Bilbao some 50,000 workers struck, which was followed by strikes throughout the provinces. In Catalonia, the strikes affected all the major industries, above all textiles, which registered a 75 % turnout. This time the forces of the regime intervened directly, detaining and sacking massive numbers of workers. There were 14,000 sackings in the Basque provinces, and even some employers were fined or detained who had refused to give a list of the strikers. (55) .

The May solidarity strike in Catalonia was carried-out under the aegis of German Estevez' committee, in operation from February till May 1947. The coordination between the trade union at this time was excellent, as the response to the Basque strikes demonstrates. Indeed, preparations for the May strike had begun in January. German was determined to end the disorganisation of the armed groups, by coordinating the trade union and armed struggle. Force was conceived of as a tactical weapon, to be used to support trade union struggles as well as attacking Francoist installations. The idea of this plan, named 1,001, came from the exile organisation, which had been trying to put it into practice for over a year. Although based on the guerrilla methods used by the Americans during the war, it was conceived in wider terms. It was hoped that it would form the basis of a confederal army, which would later become the army of liberation with the other opposition forces. Once Francoism would be overthrown, it would become the organisation of civil jurisdiction, under the auspices of a coalition government. (56) .

This plan would have had more possibilities of success a year earlier. The offensive against Franco had abated somewhat, while armed resistance was slowly being worn down. The Francoist regime was beginning to stabilise itself, now that it had managed to bring dissidents within the army under control, and its political survival now seemed possible in the atmosphere of approaching Cold War. (57) . The C.N.T. was aware of the

limitations of the 1,000 plan, and reduced it to the creation of two or more armed groups (which could be placed in the mountains or the city), which could launch an effective assault when needed. To carry it out, they counted on the arms brought from France, and the information collected by Carrasquer's committee on military installations. (58).

When all seemed to be going well, an unfortunate incident brought the whole edifice down. Franco was due to visit Barcelona on May 20th 1947, and the organisation had suspended its activities as the entire city was surrounded by police. Marcos Nadal, the national secretary, and Estevez, the regional secretary were detained on their way to a regional plenum. Borrás, a member of the regional committee, had been seen contacting German Borrás' address had been found when they had detained Dominguez, legal secretary of the provincial committee. (59). The police did not realise the extent of their "catch". The whole of the local federation, the provincial committee and numerous comm rcals were dismantled. In fact, practically the whole organisational infrastructure was left in ruins - only a few militants in Tarragona were saved. There were 300 detentions, 50, 000 pesetas were lost, as well as many locals, printing presses, while the trade unions were left in a state of total disorganisation. In the commarcal of Vic, forty people were detained, one of them dying in police custody after severe torture. This was connected to the finding of an arms cache crossing the border, apparently to arm the Esgeleist groups. (60). Detentions extended throughout Spain and was the decisive putsch which sentenced the C.N.T. to extinction. A further wave of detentions at the end of 1947, which included the new national committee and many provincial committees, destroyed what was left of its trade union base. From then on, the organisation was reduced to a few disconnected working class groups, armed groups without any strategy, and symbolic committees in which the members elected one another. (61) Undoubtedly this putsch could have been avoided if greater clandestine precautions had been taken. It would seem extremely

unwise to hold a regional plenum when Franco was due to visit Barcelona, and to keep addresses of other comrades. A similar lack of precautions led to the decimation of the armed groups in October 1949. An eighteen year old, Jaime Albana, was arrested while trying to sell an unusual gold watch to a police informer. Albana was found to be carrying a pistol and hand grenades. His identification papers were out of date, and indeed his Falangist membership card had been withdrawn from circulation shortly before as a result of numerous forgeries emanating from Toulouse. (62). This triggered off a whole series of arrests and assassinations of libertarians in Barcelona.

It is certainly true that the police were becoming more vigilant and had increased their numbers since the attack on the police chief Quintela, in February 1949. (63). The action groups did not let up however. In fact they increased their activities. May 1949 was an especially active month. Facerías entered Spain only to be caught in an ambush. He and two other comrades narrowly escaped death. (64). At this time the United Nations was again discussing the position of Spain. Bolivia, Peru, Brasil and Columbia had proposed that the agreement of December 1946 (that no member country should accredit representatives to Spain), should be annulled. The action groups did not think much of United Nations resolutions, but, seeing that the exiles were taking it seriously, decided to organise a series of protests to bring Spain to public notice. Bombs were placed in the various Latin American embassies which had proposed the annulment. (65). This increased activity of the action groups brought not only greater numbers of police to Barcelona, but also much more efficient organisation. The police were also receiving very exact information : they were aware of a meeting which one of the Sabaté brothers held, and were able to locate precisely where an arms dump was. In August, 1949, the Anarchist Defence Commission in Exile, along with militants of the action groups, decided to reorganise the infrastructure of the groups inside Spain. (66). This done, they began a massive infiltration into Catalonia, especially Barcelona. (67).

However, the Francoist Intelligence knew of this infiltration, and launched a massive wave of repression against all known or sympathetic libertarians in Catalonia. (68). Therefore the repression and increased police vigilance had begun well before the detention of Jaime Albana in October. Yet this did not lead the action groups to tighten their security or change their methods. At any time it was unwise to allow a raw, eighteen year-old to wander through Barcelona with arms, carrying an out-of-date identification credential, and with an enormous amount of information about the other members. In October 1949 it was sheer lunacy.

Paul Preston believes that the lack of separation of the armed groups from the industrial front was one of the major reasons for the high level of detentions of trade union militants. (69). Certainly the action groups themselves were aware of the problem. Sabaté, one of the most courageous of the guerrillas, attempted to tackle the problem on his return to Spain in 1945. As Tellez says :

"In March 1947, the Spanish Libertarian Resistance Movement in Barcelona (M.L.R.) was formed with the idea of separating all organisation and propaganda activities from the purely guerrilla actions. From now on it was intended that the M.L.R. should be the military wing of the Libertarian Movement. The idea came from the comrades in the 'interior', and was agreed to by a new delegate from France. Later, however, the movement in exile (the 'apolitical' faction) disavowed their delegate and disagreed with this decision. Nevertheless, the movement in Spain decided to act on its own initiative and received the support of many excellent and experienced comrades, including the group of Manuel Pareja. This collaboration bore fruit."

Tellez, London, 1974 p. 65.

This decision marks the beginning of a long and tortuous relationship between the urban guerilla and the exile organisation. Unwilling to finance the political / trade union movement in the interior themselves, they reproached the guerrilla for doing so. (70).

Certainly the urban guerrilla was crucial in creating the necessary infrastructure of the trade union organisation. More importantly perhaps, was their concern for libertarian prisoners, a concern deeply felt by Sabaté and Facerias, who launched many projects in aid of them. Indeed, the increased activism in 1949 was specifically related to renewed attempts to help prisoners. A libertarian, Francoisco Ballester Orovitg, released from prison in January 1949, had prepared a comprehensive census of all C.N.T. prisoners, addresses of their families and lawyers who had defended them. Sabaté, and his brother, José, agreed to undertake all the expenses for legal aid. (71). As Tellez says : "As usual it was a question of money. Once more, the activist groups had to fall back on the banks for forced contributions ; they had no other source of income and it was for this reason that robberies played an important role in the resistance movement." (72).

The lack of support from the exile organisation caused the action groups to recur time and time again to robberies and raids which were becoming increasingly risky, as police and intelligence perfected their methods. The relationship between the action groups and the exile organisation is summed-up well by Tellez :

"The Spanish Libertarian Movement never adopted a clear position in the struggle against Franco, and neither did it attempt to separate the activities of the political and guerrilla wings within its ranks. People took part in the planning of guerrilla actions who had not the remotest intention of participating in the operations themselves. They controlled the formation of the armed groups - stubbornly ignoring the fact that within its ranks were to be found informers, charlatans and hypocrites of every shape and size ; while the administration was in the hands of political bureaucrats - a lunacy of the highest order, even ignoring for the moment the obvious dangers such a situation could, (and did) give rise to - as the 'committee' men had a predilection for inventing what they called 'methods of action' and 'activities' which led inevitably to inaction and inactivity. These errors cost the movement dear. They were paid for with the blood and lives of some of its most outstanding comrades. The members of the action groups argued continuously, but unsuccessfully, hoping to rectify this sorry state of affairs and create an autonomous

resistance organisation through which the men and groups involved could claim responsibility for their actions and avoid, among other things, the effects of repression felt by those comrades involved in propaganda and industrial action. The M.L.E., however, never compromised itself in regard to the action groups, it had become a servant of legality in exile. Within the Spanish Libertarian Movement nothing was totally authorised and nothing totally condemned - the standing of the action groups was in a constant state of flux. For example, men who at any given moment belonged to the urban guerrilla groups could pass to occupy responsible positions within the organisation, and vice versa. This problem perhaps the most important of all, was never faced openly, in spite of the disgraceful events which resulted with increasing frequency as the years passed - bringing with them demoralisation and confusion."

Tellez, London, 1974 p. 49 - 50.

It is debatable whether either Sabaté and Facerías, whose activity spanned almost two decades, would have continued their actions if there had been an alternative strategy worked-out by the organisation in exile. For example, at the Second Congress of Local Federations in Toulouse (May to October 1947) members of the M.L.R. were refused delegate status and not allowed to discuss the future role of the resistance movement. Facerías, disgusted by the bureaucratic manoeuvres and "paper" resolutions, decided to take his group back to Spain. ⁽⁷³⁾ Sabaté, restricted to France from 1949 till 1955, had repeatedly attempted to get the organisation to undertake some concerted action and fill the organisational vacuum. Given that this was not forthcoming, he decided to act on his own initiative, without involving the organisation. He formed the "Iberian Federation of Anarcho-Syndicalists", but subsequently renamed them the "Federation of Anarcho-Syndicalists Groups" after discussions with the Inter-Continental Commission of the C.N.T./F.A.I. ("apolitical" organisation in exile). He had no desire to cause a split within the organisation, but felt something had to be done. Even after the name change and discussions however, the exile organisation still disowned and attacked them. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Groups ceased to function in the winter of 1956/57, as a result of severe repression. Forty-three militants were arrested throughout Barcelona.

During their brief period of activity they managed to publish a newspaper "El Combate", and one is deeply impressed by Sabaté's attempts to incite resistance. He fired projectiles out of a sort of mortar bomb, which sent propaganda hurling about two hundred yards, and recorded speeches which he would play in factory canteens or anywhere where there were groups of workers. After the dismantling of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Groups, Sabaté spent the next few years trying to get the exile organisation take some action in Spain, and indeed was hopeful that the Tenth Congress of the C.N.T./ M.L.E. in 1959 would bring about reunification and some sort of strategy. (75). But again, nothing was done.

In a desperate bid he took his group back to Spain, in December 1959, but never even reached Barcelona. He had totally underestimated the growing efficiency of the Spanish Special Branch and International Police co-operation across frontiers. (76). The five men in blue overalls, mountain boots and ruck-sacks were a complete anachronism in Franco's Spain in the late 50's. Spain was now integrated within the Western sphere of influence, and, with the signing of the Pact of Madrid in 1953, had begun to receive the economic and military backing of the United States. The period which opened in 1936 was well and truly over.

The 1950's mark the end of a whole period of Spanish anarchist history. Never before had the state been able to smash so completely a movement which had shown great capability in clandestine struggle. While C.N.T. militants were important in the 1951 transport boycott, and many workers still retained great sympathy for the organisation, the historic anarcho-syndicalist movement never managed to emerge during the dark years of Franco's rule. The experiences of the Republic, but particularly the Civil War, had left their mark upon the organisation in exile, now split irrevocably in a "political" and an "apolitical" wing. Anarchist orthodoxy had been questioned, and militants, such as García Oliver and Horacio Prieto, had called for the establishment of a libertarian party alongside the traditional trade union organisation of the C.N.T.

Others had collaborated with Falange chiefs within the vertical trade unions, while some practiced an "entrism" tactic within them, secretly agreed to by the exile organisation. (77). Long and cherished anarcho-syndicalist practice was unable to be adhered to in the context of severe repression. Those who held committee posts controlled the organisation, and the gap between leaders and the rank and file widened inexorably. (78). Under Franco's increasingly efficient police state, little remained of the revolutionary elán which had characterised the Spanish anarchist movement for some eighty years.

Certainly the anarchist movement had always had to contend with clandestine conditions in the unstable political world of Spanish society, and had to resort to "authoritarian" measures during periods of repression to save the organisation from oblivion. Moreover, perhaps more than any other European anarchist movement, it had shown great ideological flexibility and diversity, calling for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" under the influence of the Russian Revolution, and the setting-up of a federal socialist republic during the years of Republican government from 1931 to 1939. The ideological development of some of its leading militants during this period, I believe, is of important historical interest, and belies some of the assumptions about the immutability of anarchist thought. This development was thwarted however, by the exigencies which the Civil War imposed, and began a process of centralisation and bureaucratisation which culminated in the setting-up of an executive council of the libertarian movement at the war's end. This trend was exacerbated during the years of exile, when, as we have seen, the exile organisation strove to maintain control of all activities of the interior C.N.T., and refused to openly discuss strategic questions out of fear of its own legal existence in France. Removed from happenings within Spain, and without the pressure which only an active movement can give, Spanish anarchist thought stubbornly clung to anarchist tenets which had frequently been questioned during the C.N.T.'s long involvement

within the workers' movement, and "ossified" to an extent unheard of in Spanish anarchist history.

But the years of Franco's rule would create other forces, forces which would claim a heritage which they believed would regenerate the sleeping body of the anarchist movement, and thus claim a place within the newly-emerging, but powerful workers' movement towards the end of the Francoist period. These "new" anarchists would find their way blocked at every turn by the entrenched bureaucracy of the organisation in exile, and it was this struggle which would ultimately condemn the organisation to impotence and eventually lead to its demise. The strategies and projects which these groups expounded are incomprehensible without reference to the politics of the last years of Franco's reign, and the type of workers' movement which had developed. It is to this that we must now turn our attention.

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Ed. P. Preston, London, 1976.
2. Max Gallo : Historia de la España Franquista.
Paris, 1969.
3. Interview with Eduardo del Guzman, libertarian survivor of the Alicante port terror.
1978.
4. Max Gallo. op. cit.
5. P. Preston. op. cit.
M. Gallo. op. cit.
6. P. Preston. op. cit.
7. The JARE AND THE SERE were two Republican relief organisations set-up in exile just after the Civil War.
8. This information was given to me by C.N.T. militants active during this period, and is supported by A. Hernando's research on the same period.
A. Hernando. op. cit.
Militants interviewed in Barcelona and Valencia, 1978 and 1979.
9. C.M. Lorenzo : Los Anarquistas españoles y el poder.
Paris, 1969.
Alberto Hernando : unpublished M.A. thesis on the C.N.T. in the 1940's.
University of Barcelona, 1978.
10. A. Hernando : interview with C.N.T. militants. op. cit.
11. J.M. Molina : El Movimiento clandestino en España - 1939-49 Mexico, 1976.
12. They did not carry out actions in the name of the organisation. However, they had a permanent delegate on the regional committee of the C.N.T. (Each neighbourhood elected a committee and a delegate to coordinate the rest of the neighbourhoods, forming a local federation and regional committee).

13. Miguel García : Franco's Prisoner.
London, 1972 p. 42.
14. Miguel García : Franco's Prisoner.
15. Miguel García gives an account of one such incident, which shows how little control the organisation exercised over many militants - Pedro Androver Font, "El Yayo" was a hardened veteran who had been detained in the French and German concentration camps where he had contracted tuberculosis. Miguel García says of him : "On one occasion, "El Yayo" blew in the entire front of a municipal police building. It was on this occasion a perfectly timed operation, but with one tragic exception. Some poor devil of a tramp had chosen to creep into the door and huddle up unseen by passers-by, like a bundle of rags. He was blown to pieces. This caused a great deal of criticism and when next we had a delegate from France we were soundly reproached for the deed - about which, like most of Androver's exploits, nobody had known anything until the next day."
M. García. op. cit. p. 53 .
16. Miguel García gives an account of one such morale booster. "In addition to his complete devotion to the cause, he, (Facerías) had an impish sense of humour, which added to the enmity with which he was regarded. I was personally involved in the famous Casita Blanca hold-up. The Casita Blanca was looked on by the groups as a "night out" for the Resistance. Its motives were neither financial nor political, but psychological. We felt it paid back many of the humiliations which had been heaped upon us. It was the most expensive cat-house in the city. There, in the luxurious surroundings of the hotel, the rich and powerful conducted their "affaires". We felt it would strike fear into their hearts if they felt that even in the secrecy of their un-domestic beds they could not be safe from these terrible people, the anarchists : accordingly we raided it and held it captive for four hours, stripping the ladies of their jewellery and the gentlemen of their wallets. We assembled the guests in a big room on the lower ground floor. They came, wrapping blankets around their nakedness, shivering with cold and fright. 'Have no fear' we told them. 'You're about to pay your tribute to the Resistance ! Surely you people cannot be in sympathy with the Christian virtues advocated by El Caudillo (Franco)'. The raid had endless repercussions because of the powerful politicians, businessmen and society ladies who were present and recognised each other when assembled."
M. García. op. cit. p. 56.
17. J. M. Molina. op. cit.
18. A. Hernando. op. cit.
J.C. Molina. op. cit.

19. P. Preston. op. cit. p. 134.
20. A. Hernando. op. cit.
21. The Communist Party also suffered its exile / internal convulsions. The internal organisation in Spain worked almost independently, refusing to abide by the slogan "national union of all Spaniards", which included the Republican Right, launched in August 1941, after the invasion of the Soviet Union. The action along the Pyrenees came from the exile leadership in France, although it would appear that the mounting pressure put on them by guerrilleros in Ariège, Gard, Ardèche and Lozère, was decisive. Guy Hermet : Los Communistas en España.
22. C.M. Lorenzo agrees with Preston that the U.N.E. committed a grave tactical error by ordering an assault en masse in the Pyrenees, when what was needed was a prudent, spaced-out infiltration over a period of time. "Franco had concentrated 300,000 troops along the frontier. To this precipitation was added the imprudence of a noisy campaign in France, which provoked by defensive reaction, an intensification of the repression in Spain at a time when the Left had not yet had time to seriously reorganise."
C.M. Lorenzo : Los Anarquistas. op. cit. P. 171.
Max Gallo believes that it was already too late : it would have had to have taken place a year earlier, in 1943, after the fall of Mussolini. The revolutionary feeling in Europe, after the liberation of France, frightened the Allies, believing that the Republic would be taken over by the extreme Left.
Max Gallo. op. cit.
23. However, large numbers of socialists and libertarians were enrolled within Communist Party units.
24. M. Gallo. op. cit.
25. The secretary was usually a libertarian, while the presidency was held by a Republican.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.
A. Hernando. op. cit.
26. Interview with Félix Carrasquer.
Barcelona, 1979.
27. According to this writer, in some regions, such as Galicia and the Canary Islands, there were more militants than before the Civil War, while in others, Andalucía and Aragon, strongholds of C.N.T. organisation for many years, recovery never occurred. In Avila and Burgos the organisation made inroads where it had previously been unable to.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.

28. J.M. Molina. op. cit.
Interview with F. Carrasquer. Barcelona, 1979.
29. Protest actions of all kinds increased in 1947 ; strikes, gaol sit-ins, and demonstrations against food shortages. The latter were carried-out mostly by women . Isolated victories were obtained, such as a wage rise in "Casa Leopoldo", a textile firm in Barcelona in July 1946. But the most concerted action was a general textile strike in Barcelona in January 1947, which brought about a 20 % increase in wages. Unpublished pamphlet by the libertarian research group, "Solidaridad", Madrid, 1978.
30. National plenums took place yearly from 1943 to 1947, while numerous regional plenums (in Catalonia) are recorded. The election of German Estevez was one of the most democratic : 40 to 50 delegates of groups, trade unions and local federations took part.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.
31. Interview with P. Carrasquer.
Barcelona, 1979.
32. Antonio Tellez : Sabaté, Guerrilla Extraordinary.
London, 1974.
33. Interview with Félix Carrasquer.
Barcelona, 1979.
34. Antonio Tellez. op. cit.
35. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.
36. Garcia Olíver : Eco de Los Pasos.
Paris, 1978.
Horacio Prieto : El Movimiento Libertario Español y sus necesidades urgentes.
September 1944
37. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit. p. 273.
García Oliver. op. cit.
38. José Peirats : La C.N.T. y la Revolucion Espanola Vol. 3, Paris, 1971.
Vernon Richards holds a similar view.
V. Richards : Enseñanzas de la revolucion española.
Madrid, 1977.
39. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.
40. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.

41. The Confederacion Nacional Sindical, was the trade union organisation set-up by the regime. Many militants had been visited in prison and threatened with their lives if they did ~~not~~ collaborate, and promised well-paid posts if they did.
42. Juan Peiró, detained by the Vichy Government, was sent back to Spain, where he was executed in 1942.
43. The Enlarged Economic Plenum was held at Valencia, in January 1938, and was an attempt to correct the defects in the collectivist system, particularly lack of coordination between collectives, villages and regions, and the development of rich and poor collectives, which, many militants argued, reflected the development of a "new capitalism". Many of the organisation's postulates were overturned at this plenum, and reflects the growing need felt for centralisation and stricter work practices. The most important points approved were : the creation of an inspectors' corp, a trade union bank, administrative centralisation of all industrial and agrarian collectives controlled by the C.N.T., differential salaries were recognised, while a proposed Economic Council of the C.N.T. would undertake general planning. Centralised consumer cooperatives were proposed, as were general work norms.
C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.
44. The Communist Party had viewed the Second World War as imperialist until the Soviet Union entered the war. Thereafter, they called for a broad union of all democratic forces, including the anti-facist Right, to overthrow Franco. Not all Communist Party militants accepted this about-turn however.
G. Hermet : Los Comunistas en España.
Paris, 1972.
45. P. Preston. op. cit. p. 131
46. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.
47. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.
48. J.M. Molina. op. cit.
49. C.M. Lorenzo. op. cit.
50. P. Preston. op. cit.
51. Max Gallo. op. cit.
52. P. Preston. op. cit.
53. J.M. Molina. op. cit.
54. Max Gallo. op. cit.

55. J. M. Molina. op. cit.
56. A. Hernando. op. cit.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.
57. Max Gallo. op. cit.
58. Interview with Félix Carrasquer.
Barcelona, 1979.
59. A. Hernando. op. cit.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.
60. A. Hernando. op. cit.
61. A. Hernando. op. cit.
62. A. Tellez. op. cit.
63. After the attempt on Quintela's life, Barcelona was virtually occupied by police, and it became almost impossible to be on the streets after eight in the evening, as police broke up groups of people in the streets and carried out house raids. The police took over the taxis of the capital, and anyone who hailed a taxi was taken to police headquarters to have his papers checked. This was a mortal blow to the Resistance groups, as the taxi was their normal means of transport.
A. Tellez. op. cit.
64. Antonio Tellez : La Guerrilla Urbana . l. Facerías.
Paris, 1974.
65. A. Tellez : Sabaté. op. cit.
66. This was because many of the groups, such as that of "El Cubano" and Jose Sabaté were too large to maintain security. Both these groups were split into two.
67. A. Tellez. op. cit.
68. A. Hernando. op. cit.
J.M. Molina. op. cit.
69. P. Preston. op. cit.
70. Antonio Tellez : Sabaté. op. cit.
71. Antonio Tellez : Sabaté. op. cit.
72. The most important expropriations during this period were a textile factory, 65,000 captured, a bank, 77,000, a limited company. The director of the company was shot dead as he tried to prevent the robbery.
A. Tellez. op. cit.
73. Antonio Tellez. Facerías. op. cit.
74. Antonio Tellez. Sabaté. op. cit.

75. Antonio Tellez. op. cit.
76. Antonio Tellez. Sabaté. op. cit.
77. This information was given to me by the delegates of the textile and entertainment trade unions, who employed an "entrism" tactic. The decision to infiltrate the C.N.S. was taken after the 1943 trade union elections, long before Stalin advised the tactic to the Spanish Communist Party.
78. This is the overwhelming impression which A. Hernando received from his extensive interviewing of C.N.T. militants of the period.
A. Hernando. op. cit.

CHAPTER 3.

The Francoist Regime and the Workers' Movement.

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THE FRANCOIST REGIME AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Although the major Western powers had allowed the Francoist regime to survive, massive economic aid and diplomatic recognition was denied it till 1951. ⁽¹⁾ However, the division of the world in two hostile camps in 1945 was bound to favour a regime which boasted that its *raison d'etre* had always been to save Christianity from the Communist menace.

President Truman ratified the first large-scale credits in August 1950 and this process of rapprochement initiated in the late 40's, culminated in the "Pact of Madrid" in 1953, which consisted of agreements on military and economic aid and mutual defence. In exchange for the construction of American air bases, a naval base and a radar system, Spain was to receive military aid and equipment, plus 2,000 million dollars in economic aid over a period of seventeen years. ⁽²⁾

While American pressure was crucial in the substitution of a free market economy for the economic autarchy which had reigned since 1939, it was becoming increasingly clear that a change of direction was desperately needed. ⁽³⁾ Lacking foreign exchange and credit, without foreign trade and dogged by galloping inflation, Spain was evidently tottering towards bankruptcy. Factories were working at a quarter of their capacity through lack of raw materials and machinery, while agricultural production plummeted owing to the scarcity of fertiliser. Official figures estimated a 35 % unemployment level, while in reality that figure was closer to 50 %. Those in work were forced to do two or three jobs in order to survive, given the inflationary level of prices. Ration cards, black market and corruption were juxtaposed with a diet of boiled grass and thistles in some provinces. ⁽⁴⁾

Inflation and soaring prices reached an all-time high in 1950 and in the first months of 1951. Government attempts to re-establish control over certain products ended in failure and prices continued to rise. As Gallo says, Spain was suffering the first effects of postwar industrial "take-off", in the context of corruption, product shortages and the absence of real control, which meant that price rises were favoured, as working class responses to this attack on their living standards could be controlled by the government. (5). But industrial expansion also meant an increase in numbers of the working class, as mechanisation of production in this first phase of industrialisation was still very limited. Moreover, the working class was being renewed : those born in 1936 were now fifteen years old. As Gallo says : "It is true that the working class was still politically controlled, but it began to have consciousness of its exploitation and its reaction in the Spring of 1951 showed that something was beginning in Spain." (6). The "Hot Spring" began on the first of March in Barcelona. A bus boycott was maintained until the sixth, despite torrential rain. The boycott had been carefully prepared : the first leaflets were distributed on the eighth of February, followed by student and worker demonstrations at the end of the month. While the Catalan Communist Party and C.N.T. militants were active in organising the boycott, Gallo argues that Catalan industrialists also favoured its development as it strengthened their criticism against a corrupt and archaic administration. (7). It was certainly becoming clear that there were limitations to the degree of exploitation. Even the official vertical syndicates, in their National Congress of Workers on the sixth of February, called for better working conditions. (8). On the same day, the bus fare rise was rescinded. This victory and the official demagogic recognition of social injustices, blamed on corruption and speculation, did not halt the movement. On March 12th, 300,000 workers came out on general

strike, paralysing Barcelona. Despite severe repression and promises that cereals were on their way, the movement spread. Students demonstrated in Madrid against transport fare rises, while workers in Catalonia called for bonuses to compensate for price rises. But the most serious movement occurred in the Basque provinces. Despite 2,000 detentions, workers in Bilbao and San Sebastian struck for two days, followed by demonstrations in Victoria and Pamplona. (9).

Although the movement was blamed on Communist and Masonic subversives, the point was taken : a few months later the first massive credits arrived from the U.S., and free market policies were put into motion. (10). Coinciding with this change in economic direction, Franco issued a series of decrees reorganising the central administration, and announced important ministerial changes. While the new cabinet contained representatives of all the political groups which supported Francoism, the position of the Falange was strengthened. The "Cold War" climate allowed Franco to use the Falange as a counterweight to the monarchists, and the rabid Falangist, Fernández Cuesta, was named as secretary of the "Movement", while the narrow-minded Francoist, Arias Salgado, headed Information and Tourism. Attempts were made to sever the regime's connections to Nazism, and a liberal, Ruiz Giménez, was appointed Minister of Education. (11).

The reasons for these changes are fairly clear. The need to acquire international respectability was great, but this had to take place within the limits of an authoritarian and controlled system. (12). "Liberalisation" was particularly necessary within Education, if Spain was to provide the technicians and professionals needed to service economic development. Therefore, as Gallo says, the university had necessarily to enjoy a certain degree of freedom, if students were to acquire an efficient knowledge of their subjects. (13). Greater freedom within the Universities, and ^{the} growth of

student numbers meant that the Universities would become one of the main centres of political opposition under Franco. However, that this "Liberalisation" should not go too far, either in Universities or beyond them, Information was entrusted to a man who "was to elevate the preliminary censorship provided by the old press law of 22 April 1938, to the level of a national institution."⁽¹⁴⁾

Changes had also to be made in the field of labour relations. José Maravall has succinctly summed-up the three major institutional elements which underscored labour relations from 1939 to 1955, but which were now coming under considerable strain : "The corporativist organisation of the working class in the 'sindicatos verticales' (membership of which was compulsory, and the structure of which was rigidly hierarchical, with appointment to representative posts made by political designation), the prohibition of strikes (article 222 of the Penal Code defined strikes as acts of sedition), and the attribution to the Ministry of Labour of the entire responsibility for regulating conditions of work, wages, productivity and industrial relations, excluding any participation of the workers or of management (according to the 'Fuero del Trabajo of 1938 - which is a constitutional law - and the law of 'Reglementaciones de Trabajo of 1942')." ⁽¹⁵⁾ . Limited attempts at some degree of worker participation had been initiated in 1943, with the holding of trade union elections, but the most important did not come into effect until ten years later. ⁽¹⁶⁾ .

Certainly it was becoming increasingly clear that strict regimentation on the labour front would not help the bid for greater productivity in the context of industrial "take-off", and as Maravall points out, some managerial groups had been pressing for some degree of democratisation of the official trade unions for some time. ⁽¹⁷⁾ . The "jurados de empresa" introduced in 1953, a sort of shop stewards' committee, which allowed for some genuine workers' representation, and a system of collective bargaining, introduced in 1958, were closely linked : "In order to negotiate an agreement there was a need for genuine representation of the workers.

Unrepresentative delegates would hinder the compliance with and the effectiveness of any agreement, and the growth of productivity would be hampered." (18). Wage rises had been granted in certain sectors with employers viewing the wages recommended in the "Reglamentaciones de Trabajo" as the minimum conditions which they could improve when needed. (19). In 1954, this phenomenon was finally given legal expression.

The major change in economic direction introduced in 1951 achieved some success. While the 1940's registered a negative growth rate of 1.02 % , with two major production crisis in 1945 and 1949 (in fact in 1950 real income was still below the pre-war level), the growth rate between 1951 and 1960 was 3.3 % (20). Indeed it was the new economic policy initiated in 1951 which was to lay the basis for the Spanish "miracle", and, as J. Esteban points out, subsequent plans (the Stabilisation Plan of 1959, and the Development Plans of 1964-7 and 1972-5) merely up-dated guidelines to achieve the goals set in 1951 rather than real changes in directions. (21). Many of the factors which would characterise the whole Francoist period appeared, embryonically, in 1951 : tourism increased, the rural exodus speeded-up, while emigration multiplied the number of permanent workers in France by ten. Between 1950 and 1960 those engaged in agriculture fell from 49 % to 42 %. (22).

Among the many successes of Francoism was the signing of the Concordat with the Vatican in August 1953, a month before the Pact of Madrid. The Church gained great advantages. The Catholic Church would become the state religion, and would have control over education at all levels, while the state would propagate the faith through its organs of propaganda. Official censorship would be in the hands of the bishops, who could forbid any book, film or play which did not conform to Catholic doctrine.

In return, the state would provide for the clergy, and all subsidies would be exempt from taxation and tied to the cost of living. (23). But this "fusion" between Church and state heralded new dangers. The identification of the Church with the state created problems for young priests, particularly in the Basque provinces where the clergy was anti-Francoist and close to the people. It was also difficult for these priests involved in the evangelisation of the poor, and who were most aware of the great inequalities of wealth under the Francoist regime. Therefore, in sectors of the Church, there was a certain uneasiness with the complete identification of the Church with the Francoist regime, which would lead, inexorably, towards their involvement with the opposition. (24).

An important clause of the Concordat allowed the hierarchy to organise Catholic Action independently in all matters concerning its apostolate. This meant that religious periodicals were exempted from Arias Salgado's strict censorship. It also allowed Catholic Action to carry-out its activities without state intervention. Thus, when Catholic workers' associations were created outside the official trade union, their legal status placed them in a unique position. (25).

The three workers' organisations formed in 1947 were HOAC (Hermandades Obreras de Accion Catolica), JOC (Juventud Obrera Catolica) and VOJ (Vanguardias Obreras Juveniles), were part of an offensive by the Vatican to regain influence within post-Second World War Spain. (26). But, as Fernandez de Castro explains, this attempt to control, through evangelisation, somewhat backfired :

"We can situate the first effective presence of the HOAC in the life of the country in the fifties. Inspired by Malagon and Robirosa, the latter a man of a strong mystical persuasion, the HOAC spread through certain sectors of the working class quite quickly. As all the traditional working class organisations were prohibited and persecuted, Catholic Action remained the only possible organisation not controlled by the state. A group of old socialist and anarchist militants, converted in prison to Christianity, placed their long

experience as fighters at the service of HOAC. They used old methods and old arguments : the misery of the masses and the scandalous exploitation to which they were subject, taking advantage of their condition as losers, was the argument for the mobilisation of the class, as is also the Christianising argument : the revolutionary strength of the Gospel. A whole curious process of new adaptation of the doctrine to the interests of the working class took place within the closed circle of the HOAC, which created, or attempted to create, a Christian workers' ideology which would substitute Marxism. (27). The Church hierarchy, which had looked on the growth of the new movement with hope that it would be successful in its missionary task among the working class, soon began to realise the difficulties, complications and dangers. The 'new Christians' were class enemies of the 'old ones', and the new adaption of the doctrine was incompatible with the old, that which had served as the banner in the 'Crusade'. The HOAC, which began by denouncing the injustice of the situation of the working class, ended-up by attacking the social order in which the Church has powerful means for its missionary action and even by confronting the Church itself for the complacency and complicity in this same order. Christianity became, through the new missionaries, a banner of discordancy and struggle, no longer was it a message of peace and an enemy of the class struggle. (28).

F. de Castro, Paris, 1966.

Another policital organisation which was important in the 50's was the Spanish Communist Party. The Party's clandestine organisation had been almost completely destroyed between 1943 and 1951, due not only to police repression, but to internal dissent. (29). The Communists had already switched their attention to the infiltration of the official syndicates in 1948, but did not make much headway until 1951. 1951 marked the beginning of a certain renewal within the Communist Party. (30).

"Destalinisation", from 1954, led to the reinstatement of certain expelled militants, and recognition of past errors. (31) While major changes were not made within the organisation to remedy these defects, there was a greater representation of militants from inside Spain within the higher echelons of the party, after the 1956 plenum. Correspondingly, there was a decline in representation of older exiled militants,

although this had as much to do with their reluctance to endorse the new CP policy as with a desire for greater democratisation. (32). Guy Hermet gives some idea of the new CP policy ratified at the plenum of August 1956 :

"In terms of tactics, the plenum ratified the orientation put forward for the first time in June, in the declaration of the Central Committee over the policy of national reconciliation and the substitution of the dictatorship by peaceful means. This policy has not been abandoned since then, despite certain vacillations at the time of the May '68 events. It amply drew on the themes of antifrancoist unity and the use of legal means put forward since 1948. But the undeniable novelty of the new policy was the adoption, after 1958, of the new theme 'reconciliation of Spaniards', divided since the Civil War. This concept tried to overcome the very narrow limits of the union of just the workers and Republican forces. Another new element in this policy was the great importance it gave to the 'peaceful road', which meant a preference for legal as opposed to illegal methods of struggle. There is no doubt that this change was not the fruit of an isolated evolution of the Spanish Communist Party. It is evident that it was situated within the line of recognition of pluralism, affirmed by the USSR for the first time in June 1955, thus sealing the reconciliation with Yugoslavia and reaffirmed at the XXth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. (33).

G. Hermet, Paris, 1972.

This policy was based on the Communist Party's analysis of Francoism. Fernando Claudín has called this analysis the "explosive" theory of Spanish society. (34). According to this theory, a small group of Francoist monopoly capitalists were taking the Spanish economy to ruin. No capitalist development was seen to be possible in this context, as the monopoly structure of industry exacerbated the "feudal" elements in Spain, the countryside in particular. What was needed then was a wide front of democratic forces (including the non-monopoly capitalists, the army, small and medium businessmen, peasants, workers and students) to overthrow this clique. Although this was theoretically incorrect, it undoubtedly appeared feasible, as Spain had tottered on the edge of bankruptcy throughout the forties and fifties.

Even the development which had begun in the mid-fifties was accompanied by soaring inflation and balance of payments deficits. There were also positive aspects of this policy, such as their overtures to Christians and Left Falangists. However, their belief that no development was possible under Franco and that the "people" as a whole were against it had serious consequences. For example, each strike wave or student disturbance was heralded as the beginning of the end of the regime. It also underestimated the social basis of support for the regime. The large bureaucracy, at all levels, whose existence depended on the survival of Francoism, along with groups of the "new middle classes", especially technicians, who owed their continuing social status to the regime, were ignored in the Communist Party analysis. (35).

Moreover, their strategy during this period was to foster this sort of "explosion". The call for a "Day of National Reconciliation" on the 5th of May 1958, followed by the "The National Pacific Strike" on the 18th of June 1959, although patent failures were greeted in the party press as great successes. (36). It also underestimated the gulf which the Civil War had brought about, and its attempts to attract moderate support is assessed by Lorenzo Torres :

"At the height of the Cold War, the moderation of the Communist Party influenced those whom it was supposed to attract a good deal less than its character as an undisguised satellite of Moscow. For large numbers of the democratic bourgeoisie all Communist Parties, including the Spanish, were the enemy. Moreover, the moderation was hardly understood among the rank and file of the Spanish Communist Party, or among certain working class groups politically close to it. There was, at this period, in the Communist Party as well as among the other exiled parties, a vigorous sentiment of anti-Francoist revenge which had partly replaced the traditional spirit of revolutionary organisations, and which accorded ill with the new line of moderation." (37).
Torres, London, 1966.

This moderation would lead eventually to splits to the Left of the CP from about 1963 onwards, However, the relative strength of the Communist Party vis-à-vis other opposition forces and its exemplary attitude in the face of repression, gave it an unparalleled degree of prestige. (38) . The international climate also helped the CP stage a come-back inside Spain. The Cold War had influenced the political atmosphere within the exiled organisations, and the anti-communism which reigned there meant that the CP was isolated from the rest of the exiled opposition and had therefore to direct its energies towards the interior opposition. The Socialist party had been discredited by its agreement with the Monarchists and its belief that the Western powers, especially the U.S., would help install a democratic regime. (39) .

Certainly the change of direction within the CP between 1956 and 1960 coincided with an important political transformation in Spain which opened-up new areas of action and recruitment. Although the regime was not seriously threatened by the student and worker opposition in 1956, as the CP claimed, it was however criticised by growing sectors of the population, who were finally beginning to shake-off the lethargy which had characterised the years since the Civil War. (40) . Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Universities, whose changing intellectual environment, during the "liberalisation" under Ruiz Giménez, greatly helped the growth of the Communist Party. From 1951, with international recognition of the regime, and the growing contacts with Western Europe and the U.S., as Elias Diaz says, greater contacts with more critical, scientific philosophies were made, and a dialogue established with Spanish exiles. (41) . This generation of university students, who had never known the Civil War, began to put forward more rational criticisms of the official ideology, and greater demands for freedom. (42) . There were moreover other factors which placed the Universities at the centre of intense political activity and discussion during the 1950's. In the 1930's the Universities had

been one of the main recruiting grounds for the Spanish Falange, and it was the militants of the fascist trade union, the S.E.U., who continued to take the populist demogogy of the Falange seriously in the 1940's. (43). This opposition to the "conservative-monarchist-clerical" coalition, led to a number of crisis in the 1940's, which finally led to a purging of the most political and "revolutionary" Falange militants in 1945, when "de-fascisation" took place at all levels of the regime. Franco's heterogenous coalition of monarchists, clerical conservatives and blue-shirted Falangists had certainly allowed for victory over the Left forces, but it was a tension-ridden alliance, and nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the political organisation of the universities. While the Falange were allocated the students' union, and the 1943 University Act stipulated that all University ~~Rectors~~ should be Falange militants, it was clear that Catholicism was to be the principal means of ideological control. (44).

In any case, the Falange never succeeded in controlling the Universities, as they had wished, as the majority of those professors kept on or appointed were from Catholic backgrounds. (45). This was important for two reasons. Firstly, some members of this group would later hold political views which could loosely be described as Christian Democrat, and would become an important influence within the Universities. Secondly, this allowed the Opus Dei to penetrate the Universities more easily, which they did at an astonishing rate during the 1940's. (46). While the struggle between the Falange and Opus Dei was not limited to the Universities in the 1950's (both sought greater power and influence within the government and the direction of the state), the situation was much more complex in this sphere. On the one hand, we find the S.E.U. bureaucrats (on the whole purged of "revolutionary sentiments") fighting a rearguard battle against the relentless Opus Dei, over control of the Universities. On the other, "liberal" Falangists and more open Catholics, openly

supported by the government minister, Ruiz Giménez, were calling for greater democratisation of student life and intellectual freedom. Republicans too, encouraged by the timid liberalisation, now became more active. They were aided in this by a relative easing of censorship, as Republican writers and non-orthodox literature and philosophy began to circulate. (47). Indeed, these years could best be characterised as ones of "cultural politicisation", as film and theatre societies, poetry readings and discussion groups became arenas for political and intellectual debate. It was within this atmosphere that the Communist Party's strategy proved to be very effective. Its non-sectarianism and intellectual open-mindedness gained it many sympathisers and recruits. (48).

Dissident Falangists played an important role in this political and intellectual "re-birth". Novelists, cinema directors, economists and playwrights made their debuts in the pages of the Falangist magazines "La Hora", "24", "Alcala" and "Haz", which often overstepped the limits of the official censor. (49). As Jose Carlos Mainer points out, many of those who would become important in the opposition after the 1950's were to find their "first ideological step in the idea of social Falangism, renovating and even Left-wing, and their first means of expression were the magazines which circulated between 1945 and 1955". (50).

Amongst the student body too, similar processes were at work. As A. Pena has shown, within some of the Falange S.E.U. groups at the universities, orthodox Falangism of a right-wing nature was being questioned, and the more "popular" aspects of Falangism gaining ground. From these "populist" notions - agrarian reform, nationalisation of the banks etc... - it was easy to move towards a pure syndicalist radicalism, or a deviation to the Left. As Pena says : "Thus we find the paradox that a large part of Left-wing students, in the last years of the fifties,

came from groups that we could classify today as extreme right-wing." (51).

It is against this background that the events of 1956 must be placed. Between the years 1954 and 1956, the tensions between cliques intensified. In the first municipal elections since the Civil War, the Monarchist candidates for seats on the Madrid council gained 28 % of the votes, despite violent opposition from the Falange. (52). In 1954, Calvo Serer put forward the first theoretical treatise of the Opus Dei, which heralded the definitive push of that group to gain a predominant influence within the centres of government decision-making. (53). An organised "spontaneous" demonstration against the British presence in Gibraltar, in January 1954, ended-up by being a demonstration against the government, after the police had fired on the crowd. As the S.E.U. had been given the task of organising the demonstration, the union was duly purged, while many disgruntled Falangists took to the streets in successive days of demonstrations. In 1955, the death and funeral of the Spanish philosopher Ortega Y Gasset was the scene of liberal demonstrations, while Falange and Monarchist students clashed at the Madrid Ateneo. (54).

The situation in the Universities was beginning to seriously worry the Francoist government, especially as it reflected the changes taking place within the whole socio-economic edifice of Spain. The fears that this radicalisation would extend to the workers were real in the catastrophic economic situation of 1956. Harsh weather conditions had exacerbated the still undeveloped agricultural sector, while balance of payments deficits, soaring inflation and price rises was affecting both peasants and workers, with a consequent fall in living standards. (55). The Francoist government responded to this situation characteristically. It multiplied its declarations on the need for social justice and initiated a National Housing Plan. Works' Committees (Comités de Empresa) were extended to companies with more than 500 workers. On the other hand, it began a crack-down on the universities.

A Congress of Young Writers had been planned for the end of 1955, with the agreement of the authorities. It was however, not allowed to take place and many of the student organisers were detained. A great wave of indignation swept through the Universities which reached its peak in February 1956. (56).

On the first of February a manifesto was widely distributed throughout the universities and colleges calling for the holding of a National Congress of Students and the democratisation of the S.E.U. The S.E.U. chief of Madrid agreed to hold elections for course delegates, but this order was cancelled by the government the day they were to be held. Outraged, the students defied the ban and held elections. For the first time non-Falange delegates won posts. Invalidated, the students went on to destroy the S.E.U. offices which brought hundreds of Falangists, armed with truncheons and pistols, to the scene. Several demonstrations and counter-demonstrations followed, which resulted in a young Falange militant, Miguel Alvarez, being wounded. Although it was never established who fired the shot, the Falange issued a warning that in the event that he would die of his wound, a hundred intellectuals would be killed. (57).

The government acted swiftly : Ruiz Giménez, accused of having instigated the whole liberalisation process, was relieved of his post, as was the secretary general of the Falange, Fernández Cuesta, who had been unable to keep his followers in check. Article 14 and 18 of the "Fuero de los Españoles" were suspended ; from now on any Spaniard could be detained for more than seventy two hours without trial. Seven student leaders were arrested, among whom were Ridruejo and Tamames. (58).

The great purge of the University did not end the "student troubles", however. On the contrary, it made patently clear

the limits of the official liberalisation. Those students who had been hostile to the monopoly of the S.E.U. and censorship now became fervent anti-Francoists ; many who had previously been undecided were now pushed to the Left. (59) .

Certainly a radicalisation of student politics occurred after the 1956 events. The move from a more diffuse "cultural politics" towards an attempt to clarify, define, "take sides" as it were, began amongst the most active and politicised students after 1956. The first political student groups began to appear : the Asociacion Socialista Universitaria (Socialists) was one of the most important of that period. The Unión Democrática de Estudiantes, which attempted to unite social democrats, liberals, Christian-democrats and Socialists, was also active. The Communist Party had its own organisation in Madrid (ECM) while the first signs of a radical-revolutionary alternative appeared in the founding of the F.L.P. (60) , a Christian-Castroite group, whose student body, N.I.U., was to become increasingly active in the 1960's. The CP continued to have considerable influence, but it was increasingly contested by other groups to the left, a "contestation" which would reach enormous proportions in the 60's. (61) .

1956 also witnessed the first mass movements since 1951. The continual rise in the standard of living provoked strikes in Pamplona, Bilbao and Barcelona, calling for a minimum wage. Despite lock-outs and numerous detentions, the movement spread. Workers in the larger firms struck in Barcelona and Bilbao. (62) . To contain the movement, the government, presided over by Franco, conceded wage rises of between 25 % and 70 % at the end of the month. (63) . While the strikes were sporadic and uncoordinated, they were proof that the fear of taking strike action was finally being eroded. Certainly the Francoists were aware of this danger, especially as they took place in a context of increasing politicisation among students and intellectuals. (64) .

Concessions seemed the best way out at this time, as denunciations of "Communist activity" were difficult to uphold, as both the Church hierarchy and vertical syndicate chiefs were expressing support of the worker's case. (65).

The wage increases only served to fuel the inflationary spiral, which reached drastic proportions by the end of 1956. The Commerce Minister called for strict measures to halt the flight of capital, improve foreign exchange and depreciation of the peseta, otherwise a possible return to rationing would occur. In this situation of impending bankruptcy, and with a good deal of American pressure, (66) the day of the Opus Dei technocrats had arrived. In December 1956, Carrero' Blanco's protégé, Lopez Rodó was named Technical Secretary of the presidency. What would seal their victory however, and finally determine the government change in February 1957, were the dramatic events of January and February 1957.

A particularly violent bus boycott took place in Barcelona in January, when buses were stoned and overturned. This was followed by student disturbances when busts of Franco and José Antonio were overturned. A bomb exploded and there was talk of groups of guerrilleros being formed. In February the agitation spread to Madrid in solidarity with Barcelona. An almost complete boycott of all public transport took place, while students stoned buses and demonstrated. (67).

The government change in February 1957, showed how the situation was to be dealt with, and indeed would continue to be dealt with during the whole Francoist period. All the "technical" ministries were given to Opus (Industry, Agriculture, Public Works, the Treasury and Commerce) while the army took over six ministries. Liberalisation of the economy was not to be accompanied by any liberalisation in the political sphere. To assure that order would be maintained, Alonso Vega, a hawk even by Spanish standards, and a faithful

friend of Franco, was placed in the Interior Ministry. To ensure that the Falange would not make any more bids for power ⁽⁶⁸⁾, the more doctrinaire and demagogic leaders were removed. ⁽⁶⁹⁾. From now on, the only Falangists trusted with government policy were unconditional Francoist supporters. The Opus technocrats soon made their presence felt, as their long-term goal was entry into the European Community, recently created by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Indeed, in 1958, Spain joined the major European financial institutions, and the following year, the "New Economic Order", in the form of the Stabilisation Plan was announced. The object of this plan was clear : "to create an institutional environment in line with Western European economies in all respects but the labour market." ⁽⁷⁰⁾. Measures were taken in all sectors. A fiscal plan was drawn-up, foreign exchange rates unified, and wage freezes announced. The economy had to be "cleaned-up" and inflation halted, while guarantees offered to foreign capital. In the latter endeavour, it was immediately successful. Soon after the announcement of the Plan, in July 1959, the U.S. opened credits worth more than 5 million dollars, in exchange for the construction of bases, while the Washington Import Export Bank conceded loans of up to 17 million dollars. ⁽⁸⁰⁾. Simultaneously, and with the struggles of 1956 in mind, the regime tightened up its judicial apparatus. Among the most draconian of these measures were the ~~setting-up~~ of military tribunals (which even further reduced the rights of defendants), and the "very urgent summary proceedings" law, which allowed the defence (an appointed army officer) four hours to prepare his case. ⁽⁸¹⁾.

The regime was no doubt aware of the dangers inherent in its "development" strategy, as the events of 1956-1957 had demonstrated. These dangers were even more graphically illustrated by the strikes in the Asturian mines in March 1958, which spread to Vizcaya, Giupuzcoa and Catalonia later that month. While the wage freeze was not broken by the strikes, their scale was proof that the labour front

remained the principal stumbling block to "controlled development". (82). The Law of Collective Contracts, issued in April 1958, attempted to channel this phenomenon within the bounds of the policy of the regime. No longer would it be possible to decree across-the-board wage increases, which only fuelled inflation. Wage rises would now be limited to sectors, or even firms, and closely linked to productivity. While this narrowed the field of struggle to an extent, it also gave a concrete focus to demands. The periodic "cenvenio" (agreement) was discussed and debated in meetings and forums, while the posts for "jurados de empresa" (works' committee delegates) gave a platform to political militants, and yet another forum for discussion and debate.

These new mechanisms for workers' representation were to take on greater meaning as the working class increased in size and confidence, and created the most important organisational endeavour of the period, the Workers' Commissions. The first mention of the Commissions was made during the Asturian mining strike of 1958, although this type of organisational practice had been used in an "ad hoc" manner for some time. (83). But coordination of the Commissions did not get underway until after the 1962 strikes. For the intervening period was one of great hardship for the working class, suffering the drastic effects of the Stabilisation Plan, which led to high levels of unemployment, and an enormous increase in emigration. (84).

But the upsurge in mass struggles begun in 1956 gave a great boost to political organising in the trade union sphere particularly. Militants of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. contracted an alliance in 1956, the Alianza Sindical Obrera (A.S.O.), which carried out some activity during the 1958 strikes. (85). More importantly however, were the Catholic Workers' organisations, the HOAC and the JOC, which were the most important forces during the 1958 strikes and which began to seriously worry the Church hierarchy. (86). A trade union, the Federacion Sindical de Trabajadores (FST) developed out of these groups in 1958.

THE FST called for a socialist democracy with workers' control and affiliated with the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ . Later, in the early 60's, militants of the JOC would form the "Union Sindical Obrera", which would become an important force in the trade union field in the late 60's, and which similarly was committed to socialist democracy and workers' control. The SOC in Catalonia was also a development from the Christian Workers' movement, as was the AST. ⁽⁸⁸⁾ . All these groups gave great importance to popular participation and control, with preference for broad-based trade union organisation as opposed to a tighter party type. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ . Undoubtedly the desperate plight of workers, suffering the effects of the Stabilisation Plan, and the stepping up of repression, were radicalising factors for Christians in the late 50's. For it was becoming patently clear that the "development" which Spain was undergoing was actually increasing inequalities. While the drive to bring down inflation was being felt acutely in many sectors of the economy, with loss of overtime and lay-offs, the banks registered enormous profits in 1960, while the combination of social calm, high interest rates and a healthier balance of payments favoured the import of foreign capital, capital concentration and the beginning of the great tourist "boom". ⁽⁹⁰⁾ . The OEEC report on the Spanish economy in autumn 1960, was glowing. Stabilisation, it said, had proved an unqualified success. ⁽⁹¹⁾ .

These dramatic changes within Spanish socio-economic life had profound effects on all sectors of Spanish society, but nowhere were they greater than within sectors of the Church, and amongst the "Europeanists" within the government. From 1960 there began a process of "distancing" of sectors of the Church, particularly in the Basque provinces, from the regime, which often went beyond what the hierarchy could tolerate. ⁽⁹²⁾ . The "Europeanists" within the government viewed the integration within Europe as unleashing a process which would inevitably lead to some sort of democratisation, however meagre, of political institutions.

The Law of Collective Contracts, passed in 1958, had been an attempt to keep workers' demands within the limits of "controlled development", but had not been used due to the restrictions which the Stabilisation Plan had placed on the economy. Massive emigration and increased repression had further curtailed workers' protest, and halted the development of genuine workers' participation which was needed if productivity targets were to be met, and stored-up dangers of a "wage explosion", a danger of which the "Europeanists" were undoubtedly aware.⁽⁹³⁾

It was in this context of stepped-up repression⁽⁹⁴⁾, political crisis, and a working class subdued by unemployment, emigration and lowered living standards, that terrorism erupted on the scene.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Undoubtedly the victory of Castro in Cuba had profound influences within Spain, especially amongst students, who quickly made the link between that Hispanic nation and their own, both under the umbrella of U.S. "protection".⁽⁹⁶⁾ The DRIL (Iberian Revolutionary Directory of Liberation) carried-out a few bomb attacks in Madrid in February 1960, while in June bombs were placed in the Barcelona-Madrid train and left-luggage offices in San Sebastian, Barcelona, and Madrid.⁽⁹⁷⁾ As usual, this upsurge of violence resulted in increased repression, and a DRIL member was executed for his part in the Madrid attacks, although these had not involved any loss of life. It was clear that the politico-social brigade was becoming increasingly effective. In 1960 alone, 146 persons were sentenced to 1,007 years imprisonment, reflecting the severe limitations of "liberalisation".⁽⁹⁸⁾ It is to the years 1960-1961 that we can trace the beginnings of the present nationalist movements in the Basque provinces and Catalonia.⁽⁹⁹⁾ ETA, the armed wing of the Basque nationalist movement, carried-out its first action in 1961, which led to massive arrests, and the use of torture against ETA for the first time.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Even the "maquisards" reappeared briefly in 1961. The Communist Civil War veteran, "El Campesino", led a group in an attack on a power plant, and killed a Civil

guard. As Gallo says, however limited these actions were, they were an indicator of the deteriorating situation in Spain. (101).

Certainly, the 60's were years of increasing politicisation, especially amongst students and the intelligensia. The cultural re-birth, began in the 50's, now reached a wider audience and its representatives took a firmer and more committed political stand. (102). The opposition slowly came out into the open and in so doing achieved "de facto" some degree of freedom of expression. (103). One of the most important achievements of the early 60's was the recovery of the Spanish past, particularly the period of the Republic and Civil War, as publishing houses in Buenos Aires and Paris published writers prohibited within Spain. (104). The extent of this growing contact and unity amongst exiled and Spanish intellectuals can be seen in the holding of a European Conference for political amnesty, demanding justice for all prisoners in Spanish jails. Even the syndical chambers of several faculties in Barcelona adhered to it. (105).

This greater unity in the intellectual sphere was rarely present within the political opposition, despite pleas from inside Spain for a broad unified front to overthrow the regime, or at least to achieve certain gains. (106). Pre-war and Civil War memories continued to keep the exiled leadership divided. This was particularly the case with the Socialists and anarchists vis-à-vis the Communist Party. Undoubtedly this continuing division was a manifestation of frustration and impotence faced with the successes of the Francoist regime. For the Spanish "miracle" was not a mere propaganda exercise : the G.N.P., based on an average of 1953-54, stood at 142.4 in 1959, then rose to 157.5 in 1961 and to 166.8 in 1962. Indeed, by 1964, the industrial index was 141.1, which would place Spain in first place in terms of industrial development in the world, before Japan (139.2), the U.S. (121.6) and the Soviet Union (121.1). (107).

But the increasing integration within Europe, and the very real development that was taking place, heralded new dangers for the regime. This danger was all the greater in 1961-1962, as the gap between workers' expectations and their reality was increasingly evident. In 1961, productivity reached an all-time high, while workers' wages remained static. (108). The response to this situation came in the Spring of 1961, with a series of strikes and student protests. Though as yet localised, this renewal of mass protest brought about a re-grouping of the opposition. (109). The C.N.T. the U.G.T. and the S.T.V. (the Basque trade union) constituted the "Alianza Sindical" in May 1961, while the rest of the non-Communist opposition, the Left Christian Democrats, the PSOE and the Basque nationalists, formed the Unión de Fuerzas Democráticas, whose programme consisted, as always, in calling for a transitional government which would supervise elections. The Communist Party, after the fiasco of yet another attempt at a National Pacific Strike in July 1961, said it was prepared to reach an agreement with any activists within Spain in order to lead the anti-Francoist movement. (110).

The Francoist government was certainly aware that the situation was reaching crisis point. For the long-cherished desire of the Opus' technocrats, entry into the Common Market, was being stymied on various fronts, which reflected the nature of the regime, and the contradictory development process itself. One of the major stumbling blocks to change was the agricultural sector. As E. Guzman has shown, despite the adoption by the regime of an ideology of "peasant sovereignty" during the previous period, state policies regarding wheat production and irrigation had only served to reinforce the position of the large estates. (111). In an attempt to produce quality produce for European export, the methods used by the latifundists would need to be changed, and an improvement was needed in working conditions. (112). In order to fulfill these tasks, agriculture was now to follow the same laws as industry. With the setting-up of the Commission for the First Development Plan in 1961, and the adoption of

"agrarian industrialism", emigration to the towns was now actively encouraged. This was merely a recognition of an existing state of affairs, as the rural exodus, constant from the 1940's, was spreading to the lower middle sectors of the peasantry in the early 1960's. (113). Simultaneously with this attempt to transform agriculture, the government announced a bank reform associating public and private banks to encourage investment and modernise the mining and industrial sectors. It then made its bid for Common Market entry in 1962. (114).

But if Spain was to take its place within the advanced industrial nations of Europe, representative trade unions would be needed in the modernisation process, to allow planning and avoid the explosions which occur when workers are not adequately represented. It is certainly no coincidence that the first Union Congress held since 1953 took place in March 1962, with a plan of reform from leading "Europeanists" within the Falange unions. The "old guard", led by Fernandez Cuesta, waged a successful battle however, and ended the possibility of renewal within the state-run syndicates. (115).

As Max Gallo says, the Spanish state had reached an impasse in 1962. The impossibility of reforming the Falange syndicates, as was the case with agrarian reform, was a consequence of the nature of the Spanish state itself. As Gallo says : "Clan rivalry allowed Franco to remain mediator, while the coalition of landowners, Falange bureaucrats and industrial capitalists had allowed for development along authoritarian lines. But to continue it could not seriously upset any of the components, and was thus severely limited in its bid to integrate Spain within the advanced capitalist world." (116). Proof of this inability to integrate Spain within Europe was the postponement of Spain's Common Market bid, as the member states were not unanimous on Spain's entry. (117). It was against this background that the greatest strike wave since the Civil War took place.

Asturias, home of the 1934 Commune, began the strike on April 7th., which was quickly followed by strikes in the Basque provinces, Catalonia, Madrid and parts of Andalusia. Within a few days, 300,000 workers had struck. Despite the declaration of a state of emergency on May 6th., the strike continued. Indeed, other workers struck in solidarity with the Asturian miners. University students in Madrid and Barcelona demonstrated in solidarity, meetings were held, and collections taken. Even a hunger strike was staged in support. Strikes which had begun spontaneously, demanding wage increases, now became increasingly political. Demands for an amnesty for political prisoners, especially imprisoned strikers, and for representative trade unions, intermingled with calls from students for an end to Opus domination of the Universities. (118).

The increasingly political nature of the '62 strikes was heralded by the main opposition political groupings as the beginning of the end of the Francoist regime. The Left Christian Democrats, the FLP and the CP all issued communiques to that effect, and called for a transitional government. (119). The Communists especially were convinced that "the Spanish people would never accept an imposed monarchy". (120). However, the 1962 strikes, though of considerable importance, were not the "missed revolution". They quickly became political because of their significance within a repressive dictatorship. But the dictatorship was able to grant some concessions, such as wage rises and a "de facto" recognition of the Workers' Commissions, while continuing to use its "normal" means of control, repression. (121).

The massive detentions which followed the strikes decimated the movement. Communists, Socialists, anarchists, FLPer and ordinary strikers, especially the Asturian miners, were rounded-up in hundreds, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. While the "official" political groups suffered a serious set-back in the period following the strikes, the prestige of the Workers' Commissions was strengthened considerably. These "anonymous" and "ad hoc" organisational forms had played an important part in organising and

coordinating the 1962 actions, and had shown their efficacy in resisting repression. Moreover, 1962 had shown the importance of the use of collective bargaining as a useful tool to exert pressure. Indeed, most of the firms which struck had an unresolved collective contract pending. (122).

Another important feature of the 1962 strikes was the degree of solidarity displayed by students. Indeed, workers and students had much in common as both groups sought a more representative body to channel their interests. As A. Pena has shown, the fundamental objective within the student body during the period 1956-1962, was the struggle against the official students' union, the S.E.U. (123). In an attempt to give an air of "organic democracy" to the union, the S.E.U. was restructured in 1958, which set-up course councils in the universities and trade union Chambers in the colleges. The students then used these bodies to launch their attacks. At the same time, a whole number of trade union services were introduced in an attempt to bureaucratised and institutionalise the S.E.U. During 1960 and 1961, strikes and professional conflicts took place on an ever increasing scale, which demonstrated the inability of the S.E.U. to deal with them. As Pena points out, these professional struggles were of extreme importance in forging a mass student movement with a consciousness of its own strength, and the failure of the S.E.U. to resolve these conflicts led the student body increasingly to demand a truly representative trade union to defend its interests. (124). Many of the S.E.U. delegates, in both universities and colleges could be loosely described as "syndicalists", and were important in putting forth the workers' case and showing the common nature of their struggle. Certainly, the strikes in Asturias in 1958 were followed by solidarity strikes in Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza and Valencia Universities. The largest professional strikes took place in Madrid, Bilbao and Barcelona in 1961, which led to yet another reorganisation of the S.E.U. in September of that year,

which gave the power of veto to the dean (he could now veto the elected delegates and approve or not when elections took place). This measure greatly radicalised the student body, which abandoned the strategy of infiltration within the S.E.U., and launched it on a more political course of action. (125). This growth in the internal Spanish opposition, displayed clearly at the Congress of the European Movement in Munich in 1962 (where the majority of delegates were from Spain), now placed the regime on the offensive. The new government of July 1962 showed that the opposition would be dealt with in the same way : Opus Dei retained all the economic ministries, while the position of the army was further strengthened. An important addition was Fraga Iribarne in the Information field. This showed that a new "style was to be introduced, 'young and efficient". He represented in the information field the equivalent of the young Opus economists already serving in the government. (126) .

This new confidence and strength of the government can be seen in the repression used against the strikes in Asturias and Catalonia in the autumn of 1962. (127) . While the wage increases (consequence of the spring strikes), and the repercussions of the Cuban Missile Crisis contributed to the lull on the labour front in 1963, it was the massive detentions after the spring and autumn strikes which was the decisive factor in the downturn in struggle. (128) . Again, as in 1960, increased repression and unfavourable conditions for mass struggle saw the appearance of armed action. The Consejo Ibérico de Liberación began a bombing campaign against Iberian aircraft, in an attempt to deter tourists from visiting Spain. Three members of the "Young Libertarians" were detained, and the death sentence was called for by the military judge. In Milan, Italian students kidnapped the vice-consul of Spain, declaring that he would not be released until one of the accused was freed. Despite reactions from official Spanish circles, the FIJL member,

Conill, was reprieved and sentenced to thirty years. (129).

Others, however, had to pay the full price for their dissent. Julian Grimau, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, died after supposedly throwing himself from the Security Headquarters in Madrid, in April 1963. This was followed in August by the execution, by garrote, of two anarchists, Francisco Granados and Joaquim Delgado, accused of bombing attacks. While bombs continued to explode, claimed by the Union Democrática Popular Española, they did not incur any loss of life nor did they involve much material damage. (130). These actions did little to shatter the strength of the regime. While the executions brought forth some anti-Francoist feeling, millions of tourists continued to arrive in Spain, while their governments hastened to improve their relations with a regime that opened its doors to foreign investment. (131). Long-term loans were conceded to Spain by Germany and France, while the credits of the Export-Import Bank to the Spanish armed forces exceeded 100 million dollars. Spain became a member of GATT in July 1963, and in December of that year, after two years of preparatory work. the First Development Plan officially saw the light. (132).

Although dogged from its inception by inflation, the First Development Plan introduced in 1964 certainly produced an upturn in economic activity. The annual income per head of population rose from 443 dollars in 1963, to 637 dollars in 1966, while the percentage of population in the rural sector fell from 42 % in 1960, to 30 % in 1966 (and to 25 % in 1971). Urbanisation increased dramatically, while the annual rate of GNP growth from 1960 to 1965 was 9.2 %, higher than any other Western European country. Unemployment was kept at 2 %, given the high levels of emigration to other European countries. (133).

It is within the context of economic expansion that the tolerance towards the Workers' Commissions between 1964 and 1967 must be seen. It was also of course, part of a longer-term strategy pursued by the European "technocrats" since they had obtained the reins of governments in 1957. "Integration" of working class demands was now seen as a prerequisite for further economic development, by both the advanced capitalists of the "Desarrollo" (Development) group, and even by sections of the Falange syndicate. (134). Undoubtedly too the problem of succession underlay much of the search for a consolidation of the regime on a new basis, as economic development had radically changed the Spain born out of the Civil War, and Franco was now seventy years' old. (135). This trust to achieve "integration", though primarily with an eye to the working class, was also directed to the burgeoning middle classes, engaged in the service industries, and the expanding industries of a more technological type. (136). Thus we see the informal liberalisation carried-out by Fraga from 1962, finally embodied in the Press Law of 1966, and the tolerance accorded to middle-class radicals such as Ruiz Gimenez, whose magazine, "Guadernos para el Dialogo", published from 1963, reached a fairly wide audience. This was becoming increasingly necessary as sectors of the population not previously known for their militancy were beginning to engage in struggle in the 1960's. (137).

There is little doubt that it was this attitude of tolerance, with a view to integration, that allowed the Workers' Commissions to grow and extend their organisation during these years. (138). From the workers point of view, the experience of the 1962 strikes in the North (the Basque provinces and Asturias), had certainly shown the benefits of unity in struggle. This example was followed in Madrid, in 1964, when militants from various organisations, and several "independents", set-up a Commission there. Members of the CP, the FLP, the FST, the UTS and Christian militants participated in their creation. (139).

This is described in a clandestine bulletin of the time :

"Effectively in Madrid, on the tenth of April 1964, and in a massive way on the 20th, in the offices of the official trade union, an assembly of enlases and jurados was held. (140). These meetings had been called by the trade union school of the 'vertical' to try to indoctrinate the trade unionists in official corporativism. This was repeated on the second of September and they proved to be the meeting place of men from different firms in the Metal industry. On this date, and under the presidency of the hierarchy of the 'vertical' (Vice-Secretary of the provincial social section, the provincial president of the Metal industry, and the head of the Social Section), the creation of a commission of a dozen workers was authorised to represent the enlases and jurados from the Metallurgy trade in Madrid. From that date the meetings continued on a weekly basis till October : about two hundred representatives of the workers supported the commission. Here was the embryo of what was to become the Workers' Commissions : the commission of enlases and jurados totally representative of the rank and file."

Apuntes Para una historia, Madrid, 1969.

It is certainly an historic irony that the organisation which would become the most combative under Franco should be launched in the offices of the official trade union, and with the wholehearted approval of the syndical chiefs. The latter were desperate to breathe some new life into the "vertical" and thus maintain their positions within their sole centre of power. Moreover, they were hopeful that the new movement could be kept under control. However, there does not appear to have been any national coordinated strategy towards the Workers' Commissions. Attitudes towards the Commissions varied from region to region and from firm to firm. But legal changes, the new law on strikes and the setting-up of Labour Courts (142), plus contacts with clandestine labour organisations, indicate that a general orientation of "dialogue" with labour was the policy at this time. (143).

The Madrid Workers' Commissions displayed a greater degree of unity during its first years than would be the case in Barcelona. Indeed it was from the capital that the principles

of the movement were issued in 1966, signed by members of the different political organisations. These were the following : (a resumé).

In the preamble to the document it states :

"The movement is not motivated by 'exclusivism' or 'factionalism'. No one section of the tendencies now attempting to represent the workers and their struggle should take predominance, and the highest spirit of service to the workers' movement is of primary consideration.

1) The official syndicates are rejected because they deny the reality of a difference of interests between workers and employers.

2) The struggle for the right to associate is of primary importance.

3) Unity, independence and liberty are also crucial to the movement.

4) The movement must not be dependent upon a political party, although there is room for 'political parties which are identified with the aspirations and interests of the working class'.

5) The workers must recognise their status and position as an exploited group, from which they must emancipate themselves. Organisational independence in this matter does not preclude 'joint actions with other social groups for the achievement of coinciding aims.'

6) The 'effective instrument' of the movement will be a federation of labour, whose principles will be freely and democratically decided upon by Assemblies of workers in each place of work.

7) All the democratic freedoms are a sine qua non of a labour movement and all tendencies within the movement must be respected. The Assemblies of unions must contrive to avoid control by particularly strong or well-organised groups, at the same time respecting the groups which represent the majority.

8) 'We hope that some day we will have at our disposal instruments of the law of the land which guarantee the possibility of our coming under the auspices of a united federation of labour according to the will of the workers, freely and spontaneously expressed.'

9) All militants of the workers' movement must collaborate in the propagation of ideas, in the constitution of negotiating and discussion teams, in the coordination of the efforts of all those involved in the worker's struggle.

10) The key to success in the achievement of 'traditional and present-day objectives' is unity". (144).

Ellwood, London, 1976.

The meetings in the Madrid "vertical" offices were halted in October, after a demonstration of some 15,000 in front of the offices of the National Trade Union centre. After this, the Commissions met in the social centre of the Movement, "Manuel Mateo", in a semi-clandestine fashion, but with the approval of certain Falange syndicalists. (145). It was from here that the consolidation and organisation of the movement took place. Within a short period of time, the commissions had been established in the largest and most important factories in the area. (146). Within a year, however, the first signs of dissent appeared, when militants of ASO, UTS, UST, and the FST tried to set-up a rival organisation "as a species of common front against the Communists". (147). This dissent would never reach the levels it obtained in Barcelona, nor did it seriously impede the development of the Commissions in Madrid. Undoubtedly the growth of the Workers' Commissions in Madrid was the greatest in Spain, reaching its climax in 1966-1967, when demonstrations of several thousands were organised, indicating that a higher degree of unity was maintained until then.

The setting-up of the Workers' Commissions in Barcelona followed quite a different pattern. Here, the tolerance that was shown towards the Commissions in Madrid was totally absent.

"In Barcelona, the experience of the Workers' Commissions was initiated by the spontaneous contacts of the commissions from the different factories at the end of 1964. In November of that year, in an assembly, workers and militants from various political groups and trade unions, about 300, attempted to coordinate the Barcelona Workers' Commissions; they listed a series of demands, amongst which was the demand for a minimum wage of 200 pesetas. These demands were backed-up by more than 9,000 signatures and it was decided that a Commission supported by all the workers should be presented to the vertical hierarchy of the official trade unions. However, the elected commission was detained the day before the demands were due to be handed-in, which did not stop the holding of the planned demonstration, after which, in January 1965, a hundred were detained. (148).

Apuntes, Madrid, 1969.

There seem to be differences of opinion over the level of development of the Commissions in Barcelona. Many militants I interviewed have argued that the organisation was impeded from its inception by disagreements and tensions between political groups. (149). Most writers I believe, underestimate the effects of repression on the movement, which meant that for a year and a half after the first meetings the movement was almost leaderless and uncoordinated. This is undoubtedly a situation where political differences are highlighted. Despite these bitter political disagreements, which became particularly acrimonious after 1968-69, the Commissions did obtain a fairly high degree of organisation in the factories. (150). Indeed, the Workers' Commissions in Barcelona were second only in importance to Madrid by the end of the Francoist period, by which time it had become the strongest working class organisation in Catalonia. (151). The Communist Party was of primary importance in the extension of the Workers' Commissions. The CP dissolved its Organización Sindical Obrera, which had been set-up as the CP's trade union base, but which had had little success, and advised its militants to work within the commissions in their areas. This was in response to the important role the commissions had played during the 1962 events. Despite the considerable clandestine network of contacts and organising facilities, the organisation never achieved national coordination, "never really exceeded the provincial scale in each case, so that each of the great industrial centres developed organisations with marked local characteristics ; a tendency reinforced, of course, by the difficulties of communication and the need to work in secrecy". (152).

Thus we have the case of Valencia, which only began organising a commission towards the end of the experience, and which only lasted a year, from 1967 to 1968. (153). In Bilbao, by contrast, the movement got off to an early start, after the 1962 strikes, and was mainly animated by the CP. (154).

Seville, a stronghold of the CP since the Civil War, was likewise set-up under CP auspices, while in Asturias, Socialist Party strength meant that the Commissions were relatively weak. (155).

The strategy of the Workers' Commissions was identical to that pursued by the Communist Party, although other organisations, such as the FLP and the Christian organisations, adopted a similar approach :

"The first organisational efforts of worker leaders within a given factory centred around the creation of a workers' commission for the factory which could present candidates for election to the post of 'vocal' (delegate) to the 'jurado de empresa'. When such organisations existed in various factories within an industry it soon became necessary for representatives from the various factories to meet and to discuss particular actions. This led to the beginning of organisations or federations by industry, and each area had federations which reflected its important industrial sector. In Madrid, the 'Federacion Siderometalurgica' (Iron and Steel), in Seville, the 'Federacion de Construcción', and in the Catalan textile towns the 'Ramo de Agua' or textile federation." (156)

Amsden, London, 1972 p. 58.

It would seem that during the first period of development of the Workers' Commissions the organisational workings were governed by strict democratic practice. (157). Despite the enormous problems involved (more than five people could not legally assemble), problems were discussed and votes taken on each issue. This of course depended to a large extent to the attitude of the employers. As both Maravall and Amsden point out, it was the expanding industries with a "Europeanising" mentality which allowed assemblies to be held, and therefore the movement to organise. (158). Other employers however, did not act with such benevolence, and in some cases did their utmost to smash the developing organisation. This was certainly the case in the Echevarri steel works in Bilbao (Laminación de Bandas en Fría) where workers struck for five months, a strike which ended in victory for the employers. (159).

It was in the large metal firms of Barcelona, the Basque provinces, Madrid and the Asturias mines that industrial conflict was concentrated, and it was in these firms, in the main, that the Workers' Commissions had their greatest strength. (160).

As Maravall points out :

"Working class militancy was concentrated in what had been the historic centres of political radicalism in the 1930's and where, after the Civil War, political opposition to the regime was strong. In spite of massive repression, Francoism could not totally eradicate working class organisations in these areas, and they were important in re-kindling the struggle. However, this political factor was supplemented by changes in the economy. The working class movement re-emerged in pockets of political radicalism which were also the most industrialised centres in Spain, with a high proletarian concentration and comparative high rates of immigration. These enclaves were also the wealthiest parts of the country. The main course of action taken by workers was to strike, and workers mobilised mostly on the issue of solidarity. (161). Later on in the seventies, when, as a result of organisational success and of industrialisation, the movement expanded to new centres, the main features of the struggle did not vary much. Conflict in the new centres was often associated with collective bargaining, as the underground groups took full advantage of the possibilities opened up by the system of industrial relations. But conflict was also very openly political, both through displays of working class solidarity, and through the open challenge to the official trade unions (a major issue even amongst bank employees".) (162).

Maravall, London, 1978 p. 204.

During the period from 1959 to 1969 there was a rapid and spectacular development in the system of collective bargaining. (163). Other developments were taking place which also showed the increasing politicisation and degree of antagonism on the labour front. Plant bargaining was being increasingly used to avoid it being carried-out by the official trade unions, and this was overwhelming the case in Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao, and in the steel and metal industries in particular. (164).

Moreover, deadlocks in bargaining became much more frequent, and recourse was had to the procedure of compulsory arbitration through the Ministry of Labour (Normas de Obligado Cumplimiento). In 1963, only 63,051 workers were involved in this system, whereas in 1966 the figure had risen to 438,288. In 1966,

79 % of the workers in the steel and metal industries, and 58 % of miners had their conditions of work regulated by compulsory arbitration, in contrast, this was the case for only 7,4 % of agricultural labourers. (165). The overall increase in Normas certainly reflected a growing sense of militancy : the ratio increased from 2.6 % to 20 % in the decade from 1960 to 1970. (166).

A further demonstration of the growing strength of the working class movement, and the success of Communist Party strategy, was the election of a majority of officials from the Workers' Commissions in the September 1966 trade union elections. This seemed to vindicate CP strategy, and the use of legal and extra-legal methods. However, the relatively open campaigns which preceded the elections left the Commissions very vulnerable to repression. This became apparent after a series of strikes and partial stoppages which affected many parts of Spain in 1966. (167). Workers' leaders were easily identified, due to their participation in the elections. Many leaders were dismissed from their posts, others were sacked from their jobs, while some were arrested (Marcelino Camacho, Julian Ariza and Manuel Otones). The very campaign itself generated a climate of militancy and level of mobilisation which went way beyond what the government and the employers could accept, as this clandestine bulletin of the time points out :

"The months prior to the elections were characterised by a great upsurge in the mass movement, which meant that the Workers' Commissions gained a majority in the trade union elections. In Madrid, joint candidacies were established with the AST and USO. In Barcelona it was again possible to hold large assemblies. In August of that year, workers from Barcelona and the surrounding counties met and held large meetings. It was in this period of euphoria that all the organisational bases, supported in branches of production, and the sovereign capacity of the assemblies, were created." (168)

Apuntes, Madrid, 1969.

This increasing militancy was, in the sense, a product of the contradictory development framework itself, and the political responses to it. For although economic development had been dramatic, it had been accompanied by a steep rise in prices and the cost of living, with inflationary tendencies getting steadily worse. (169). Undoubtedly the increase in "Normas" reflected the inability of employers to concede wage increases, as much as they reflected growing working class organisational strength. From the end of 1966, Bilbao firms ended all overtime. Similar measures were taken in Catalonia in mid-'67. In Sagunto, in Valencia province, the iron and steel works asked for permission to reduce their work-force by a fifth. (170).

The success of the 1966 election campaign, and the increasing militancy and politicisation of the workers' movement, led to intense repression of the Workers' Commissions in 1968. (171). And this repression caused a major crisis within the movement. Certainly ideological differences came to the fore, as Maravall explains : "These disputes centred on the type of organisation and the strategy of the 'comisiones' : some groups criticised what they considered to be an excessive reliance on 'personalities' and individual leadership, an over-optimistic belief that a democratic 'breakthrough' was close, a lack of secrecy, and consequently, an over-exposure to repression." (173). Indeed, from about 1966, Catholic, Socialist, and Left Falange militants criticised the methods used by the Communists, especially the systematic use of votes of confidence which gave them a free hand. It was precisely over this issue that a serious crisis occurred in Madrid, in June 1967, when Socialist representatives from the U.G.T. and the PSOE, Catholic and independent Socialists left to set-up their own trade unions. (173).

Similar problems in Bilbao left the Commissions in such a state of weakness that organisation was halted for a considerable period of time. (174).

This crisis was not confined to criticism from militants outside the organisation, however, but came from within the ranks of the party itself. The first serious split within the CP took place in 1963, when the majority of the Madrid student organisation split and adopted pro-Chinese positions. From then onwards, a whole series of splits took place, and groupings and re-groupings, of which the most important were the pro-Chinese CP (Marxist - Leninist), and the less orthodox Movimiento Comunista (ML), both primarily student-based organisations. (175). The crisis did not affect workers within the Communist Party until 1967, when one of the most serious splits occurred in Catalonia, where many workers joined the new "Bolshevised" party, the PC International. (176).

Certainly the moderate nature of the CP's policy of "national reconciliation" was becoming increasingly apparent. At the Sixth Congress, in 1960, the difference was established between "regular" and "irregular" organisation (between the party and the movement). This attempt to create a people's party, or mass movement, seemed an urgent necessity, as the peripheral sympathisers of the party grew steadily throughout these years, in particular amongst intellectuals. Indeed, the structures of the organisation were even changed to make them more attractive to the middle-classes. Article 33 was modified so that individual adhesions were authorised outside of the cell structure. (177).

The policy of "national reconciliation", went much further than that, however. Guy Hermet, commenting on the consequences of the policy begun in 1956, but more fully elaborated in 1960, has this to say :

"Throughout the following years, the Communist leaders multiplied their appeals to the 'middle classes', and particularly to the 'non-monopolistic bourgeoisie'. They even paid homage to the police and the army. An article published in December 1960, showed the almost friendly attitude to the Civil Guards and the Commandant Pardo de Santayana, respectively the guards and the defence consul in the trial of the congress members on their return from Prague. Shortly after this, in a speech directed to the armed forces during the strikes in May '62,

the secretary general of the party spoke of the apparent sympathy of the Civil Guards towards the strikers, and called on the army not to allow Franco to undermine their honour."

Hermet, Paris, 1972 p. 108.

As we have seen, the Communist Party's analysis of Spanish society rested on the belief that the next stage of development^{was} "the democratic revolution" and the policy of "national reconciliation" was designed to unite sectors of the "democratic non-monopolistic" bourgeoisie with workers, students and intellectuals, in a common front against the Francoist clique of monopoly capitalists. This analysis was contested within the Central Committee itself, which led to the expulsion of Fernando Claudín and Jorge Semprún, accused of right-wing deviationism in 1964. Claudín, a leading intellectual within the party, and third most prestigious leader after Dolores Ibarruri and Carrillo, pointed to the high level of development of Spanish capitalism, and disagreed with Carrillo that a bourgeois democratic revolution was needed, as Spanish capitalism had developed along Prussian lines. The next historic stage was socialism, given the degree of socialisation achieved under Franco, he argued. National reconciliation did have a "tactical" usefulness though, given that the political and social conditions did not yet exist for a direct transition to socialism. But one had to be careful of alliances with the bourgeoisie, and ensure that working class "independence" was maintained, and socialist goals protected. (178).

On the other hand, Claudín criticised the catastrophic and subjective interpretations of the political and economic situation in Spain, accepted erroneously by the party leadership. For the Communist Party continued to believe, despite the evidence of economic development that was apparent to all, that the Francoist regime was on the verge of collapse, and that a national general strike by workers would be sufficient to topple it. The party, Claudín argued, had mistaken the political crisis, a crisis of the form of

capitalist domination, with the crisis of Spanish capitalism itself. This can be seen clearly in the CP's analysis of the 1962 strikes, which were not seen as a product of economic development, but as a vindication of the party's notion of the regime's imminent fall. (179). Claudín reproached himself, and his colleagues, for having sacrificed numerous militants in the clandestine struggle because "of a mistaken analysis". (180).

Claudin's criticisms of Communist Party strategy are well illustrated by a look at the party's work within the Workers' Commissions. CP militants worked hard within the Commissions, kept their "political" views in the background, and worked together with Falange and Christian militants for concrete demands. (181). However, the party's "catastrophic" analysis of Francoism led them to believe that one day they would replace the Falange within a renovated trade union organisation, and led them to sorely underestimate the powers of repression at the disposal of the state. That this was generally accepted can be seen in this interview with a Workers' Commission leader :

"I think that the basic problem was that we believed that everything was at hand, you see. So we didn't really expect the brutal repression that was to follow, the series of states of emergency, the systematic beheading of 'comisiones'. I remember that in 1969, the Provincial Commission of the Metal industry had only two members, while in 1967 it had sixty. The openness of 'comisiones', which was one of the reasons for its success, made repression easier."

Maravall, London, 1978 p. 254.

Certainly the increasingly moderate nature of the CP, and its policy of "national reconciliation", was the primary cause of the various splits to its left, which resulted in an incredible proliferation of Maoist and Trotskyist groupings throughout the Francoist period. (182). Carrillo's calls to the bourgeoisie seriously damaged his credibility, especially amongst his own militants.

As Paul Preston points out :

"The all-embracing search for alliances clearly ran up against the harsh reality of class contradictions. And those members of the bourgeoisie who did seek change were doing so to assure their own future. Effectively, the representatives of the Army, the Church, and the haute bourgeoisie would only ally with the PCE when it could offer guarantees to keep the working class in check. Increasingly many in the party began to feel that Carrillo was either harbouring vain illusions or prepared to play such a guarantor's role".

Preston, London, 1976 p. 148.

Despite its shortcomings, and its failure of analysis, the Communist Party had however highlighted one of the most fundamental problems of the left under the Francoist dictatorship i.e. the type of organisation to adopt. For to remain at the level of a clandestine party, with a strict recruitment policy, could mean isolation and ineffectuality. To "come out into the open", and try to build-up a mass movement, especially when the conditions favoured this, as they did after 1962, opened-up enormous possibilities, but left it open to repression.

As Maravall has pointed out, it would seem that in the first period of the dictatorship the only possible strategy was an underground effort to survive and protect the organisation, a strategy which the U.G.T. adopted. During the second period, however, when there was a relative opening of society and limited reforms decreed, infiltration of the corporatist institutions was profitable. But once mass mobilisation had been achieved, after 1967, the strategy of boycotting the legal institutions seemed the best strategy.

"The intention was to avoid repression, to produce the collapse of the official unions, and to replace them by illegal factory assemblies and committees. This was especially the case after 1974, and assemblies and committees spread through factories, pits and building sites. It seems to me therefore, that the strategy of

the U.G.T. was right in the first and third period, but that the infiltration and mobilisation achieved by 'Comisiones Obreras' were of major importance in the growth of the working class movement and, furthermore, that they made the transition form a first period of survival to a third period of subversion possible."

Maravall, London, 1978 p. 170.

A very similar strategy was followed by the student movement. Students had used the legal platforms in the councils and trade union chambers, like their counterparts in the ~~workers~~ workers' unions, to put forward demands for freedom of association, expression and university reform. By concentrating on "professional" issues, such as curricula and unemployment, plus the use of legal posts, the movement was developed and extended beyond the enclaves of political activists. ⁽¹⁸³⁾. The main objective in this period was the dismantling of the SEU, and the creation of a democratic trade union. The FUDE (Spanish Democratic University Federation, the INTER in Barcelona), was set-up in 1961-1962 as the democratic alternative, mainly animated by the Communist University group, the FLP and the Socialists. In 1962, secret FUDE candidates were successful in the official elections for representatives posts in the Chambers of Delegates. Despite sanctions, the capacity of the Chambers of Delegates to mobilise developed considerably, while the elections were of great importance in politicising the university. ⁽¹⁸⁴⁾.

The decree issued which gave the dean the right of veto, in September 1961, only served to further undermine the SEU, while solidarity by students during the strikes of Spring '62 led to detentions and sanctions which radicalised students further. At the end of 1963, the CUDE (Confederación Universitaria Democrática Española) was set-up which united the various trade unions which had been organising in the Universities. A major attack was then launched against the last remnants of the SEU. ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾. The years 1964-1965 were ones of increasing conflict in the Universities. Free assemblies were held, lecture weeks organised and sit-ins took place on an ever increasing scale. Expulsions, sanctions and violent confrontations only served to radicalise the movement. The Universities were now turned into "Liberated

territories", and the overwhelming majority of university districts withdrew from the SEU. Elected representatives now set themselves up as the future democratic union. An attempt by the government to replace the SEU by the Professional Students' Association backfired when the national delegates of the professional associations resigned in 1967. The new democratic student union, the Sindicato Democrático de Estudiantes, was now operating in all Spanish universities, and the "liberated territories" of the universities became centres of a veritable sub-culture, with non-stop political discussions, seminars, plays and films. (196) .

However, the universities were no longer ghettos. Solidarity actions were carried-out with workers in 1966, and throughout most of 1967. The largest working class action since the Civil War, organised by the Workers' Commissions in January 1967, was supported by students occupying the University of Madrid. One of the most impressive demonstrations carried-out by students and workers occurred on October 27th 1967, which led to 1,500 detentions, many of whom were students. The "suicide" of Rafael Giujarro in February 1967 raised the tension further, and helped spread protest to universities unaffected until then. (187) .

The growing solidarity between the worker and student movement was viewed with alarm by the government, especially as the left saw the fusion of these two movements as its main objective. (188) . Increased repression during 1968 only succeeded in radicalising the movement further. Throughout 1968 strikes and student demonstrations were almost continuous, and even recitals by left-wing singers were the scenes of meetings and confrontations. (189) . In April and May 1968, three days of protest organised by the Worker's Commissions was met by mounted police and numerous confrontations. The application of the 1960 Law against Terrorism by the government could not contain the movement ; strikes, demonstrations and violent confrontations with the police continued. (190) .

It is against this background of unprecedented struggle and combativity that the declaration of the state of exception in January 1969 must be seen. The actual pretext for calling the state of exception was the recent student disturbances after the "suicide" of Enrique Riano, a student who had apparently thrown himself from the seventh floor while in police custody. (191). But it is much more likely that the state of exception was designed to end the tension of the previous years, especially as police brutality and intense repression were exacerbating the trend towards revolutionary violence. This was certainly the case within sectors of the student movement, but particularly so in the Basque separatist movement, ETA, who had killed the chief of the politico-social police in August 1968. (192).

A massive operation was launched in late 1968 to dismantle ETA, whose members were likely to get the death sentence. ETA prisoners demonstrated, and in December 1968, ETA members staged hunger strikes in the prisons of Soria and Madrid, while wives of ETA members occupied Churches in their support. The government was undoubtedly aware that the Vizcaya Workers' Commissions were strongly influenced by ETA, and indeed many of the strikes in Bilbao in 1968 were carried-out by ETA's Workers' Front, which had been set-up in 1967. (193) The strong attraction ETA held for the student movement, and the links both these movements had with the working class, which had proved their revolutionary character in Paris, in May 1968, must have been viewed with alarm by the government. As yet this only affected a small minority within both the student and workers' movements, but it was clear that ETA was admired, not just within the Basque provinces, but within the workers' movement throughout Spain. (194).

The end of the "liberalisation" experiment with the declaration of the state of exception would have important consequences for the "internal composition" of the workers' movement.

The "mass movement" character of the 60's was destroyed for a time, while small "grupuscules" of Maoist, Trotskyist and anarchist persuasion abounded. This was especially true of the student movement. Due to internal differences over strategy and the severity of repression, the mass democratic union, the SDE, was disbanded in 1969. (195). The consequences of these changes are spelt-out by Maravall :

"The link with the working class movement was still central, but after 1968, the working class movement was seen as 'rezagado' (lagging behind), 'frenado' (putting on the brakes) as wage-oriented. A theory of 'political substitution' began to circulate, according to which the students would have to carry on in a situation of 'proletarian retreatism'".

Maravall, London, 1978 p. 223.

Although students would again show their solidarity with workers in struggle, the type of movement generated in the 60's would be ended, and the universities became "ghettoised". The workers' movement was not, however, immunised from many of the ideas aired in student circles, especially after the May '68 events. In the years ahead, the burning question - mass movement or revolutionary party - would be increasingly asked within the workers' movement itself.

THE CONTINUITY OF FRANCOISM : A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.

It was during the late 60's that a new constitutional framework was sought which would secure the continuity of Francoism after Franco's death. Economic development was still seen as the cornerstone of the regime's success, and the Second Development Plan was introduced in 1969. During its existence till 1972, the GNP grew at an average annual rate of 6 % - well above the planned 4 %. (196). The desire to integrate Spain within Europe and the Common Market continued to be the regime's principal objective, and measures were taken between 1966 and 1969 to "normalise" the regime and gain it some "democratic" credibility, while simultaneously guaranteeing the continuity of the Francoist regime.

The well-orchestrated official campaign, which allowed the Organic Law of the State to be approved by referendum in December 1966, gave the regime an overwhelming sense of legitimacy : 88,79 % voted, of whom 94.05 % said "yes". (197). While not substantially changing anything, the Law did allow for some cosmetic changes, like the legal disappearance of the Falange (now called the "Movement"), and by giving the Cortes slightly increased representative powers. (198). The final coup de grace of this process came in July 1969, when Franco named as his successor Don Juan Carlos, the monarch which Franco himself had groomed. Two years earlier Franco had elevated Carrero Blanco, Franco's "grey eminence", to the vice-presidency of the government. As Gallo says : "The stage was set for post-Francoism. As it was rumoured in Madrid, 'the operetta king and the Chancellor of Iron' would secure a suitably 'stable' transition which would hopefully convince Europe of its credentials." (199).

But this strategy of "democracy for Europe" and repression at home, was a difficult tightrope to walk. This was demonstrated clearly when the state of exception had to be lifted a month before it was intended, due to the fear of loss of tourist revenue, and the level of opposition both at home and abroad. (200). For while the state of exception had dealt a blow to working class and student organisation, it had not succeeded in eradicating strikes and protest actions during its application, and indeed, many strikes had taken place against the state of exception itself. Protests against the state of exception did not come solely from the workers' and student movement however. Basque priests, Spanish bishops, and even "procuradores" from the Cortes united with Spanish emigrants throughout Europe in calling for an end to the state of exception. It was becoming increasingly apparent that measures which the regime had taken with impunity during the 1940's would now be met with stiff opposition, both at home and abroad. (201).

But the repression did not let up. Indeed, more deaths occurred from 1969 to 1975, in strikes and demonstrations, than throughout the earlier part of the sixties, reflecting the growing polarisation taking place within Spanish society. During a peaceful demonstration in Erandio, a Bilbao suburb, in October 1969, the Civil Guard opened fire on the crowd, killing two people and seriously wounding many others. (202). In July 1970, in Granada, three workers were killed and several wounded while demonstrating peacefully in front of the official syndicates. (203). Strike activity was certainly on the increase in 1970. Asturian miners, Madrid building workers and Catalan textile workers struck for wage increases, better working conditions or in solidarity with other workers on strike. (204). One of the most spectacular strikes took place in July 1970, when the Madrid metro workers were threatened with court martial and "militarised" back to work. (205).

Undoubtedly the strike "explosion" in 1970 was inevitable sooner or later, given the wage freeze maintained since 1967. But one of the most distinctive features of the strikes in the 70's was the increase in solidarity strikes, and those for "political" demands. (206). Another important aspect of these strikes was the increasing number agreed to in assemblies. This was the case with the Bilbao metal workers and the Madrid metro workers. (207). Although the Workers' Commissions continued to have an important clandestine network, (especially in the large metal firms which had been the sector most influenced by Comisiones), even in these firms the opposition to Comisiones was growing, as the growth of "wild-cat" strikes, and the proliferation of factory committees and assemblies testify. (208).

1970 also saw the greatest crisis for the regime yet, in the famous "Burgos trial", when the regime ordered a military trial for sixteen ETA members, and called for six death sentences and more than seven hundred years imprisonment. Protests came from all sectors, lawyers, intellectuals, priests, while demonstrations took place throughout Spain and Europe. Pressured by the Church, the proceedings were finally held in public, and their onset was greeted with a general strike in the Basque provinces (even small-shop-keepers closed in solidarity). Three hundred Catalan intellectuals, including the painter Joan Miró, occupied the monastery in Montserrat, where they remained for forty eight hours. (209).

Tension increased when Germany's honorary consul in San Sebastian, Eugen Beihl, was kidnapped by ETA, and threatened with death if any of the six death sentences were carried out. The West German government reacted by threatening economic sanctions if the sentences were imposed. This was certainly a serious threat, as Germany was the second most important supplier, second customer, and third largest foreign investor in Spain. This was undoubtedly the greatest humiliation the regime had suffered yet, and, for the first time in thirty-odd years, Spain's ruling class was not sole arbiter of the situation. (210).

The trial itself was an act of great political importance, as accused after accused denounced the torture they had received, and called for socialism as the only solution to the economic, social and nationalist problems in Spain. (211). This was countered by a 100,000 strong pro-Francoist demonstration in Madrid, followed by similar acts in most of the larger Spanish cities, the size of which surpassed the authorities' aspirations for such "show" events. The Falange, the Army, and the Right generally, were showing their opposition to any relaxing of measures of "Law and Order", with the slogan, "Spaniards, Let's Unite against the Whole World". (212). The unrest within the Army was serious. Thousands of officers issued a manifesto calling for severe measures to stem the tide of opposition, while General Perez Viñeta warned that he would initiate a "Crusade" against those who disturbed the peace. (213). Others, such as García Valiño, demanded that the Army withdraw from the trial, arguing that "the identification of the Army with the regime only intensified its separation from the people". (214).

In the event Franco managed to act with his customary skill in resolving the crisis. The double death sentences applied by the military court in Burgos were reprieved by the Caudillo himself, thus appeasing the right while satisfying the German government. As Ben Ami says : "The pressure of the Right, the Army and 'public opinion' in support of a 'hard hand' was interpreted by Franco as support of the amnesty, without it being seen as a capitulation before the capitals of Europe, nor as a victory for ETA terrorism." (215).

This act of clemency did not mean any relaxing of the arsenal of repression. On the contrary, the "Burgos" trial, and its aftermath, marked the beginnings of the "Right offensive", with increased state repression and the growth of extreme right-wing groups, tacitly supported by the authorities. This suspension of Article 18 of the Spanish Charter was used to round-up militant workers, students, intellectuals, left-wing militants and members of the Workers' Commissions throughout Spain. (216). Those who opposed the regime would

now be court-martialed, and not, as before, tried in civil courts. The death sentence would henceforth be automatic for those accused of terrorism. (217). It would seem that the dictator, during the final years of his reign, was determined to maintain Spain on the course he had set her on, and, as earlier hopes that economic liberalisation would bring about "integration" were proved groundless, repression remained the only way to keep Spain within the narrow limits which the Francoist state had imposed.

ETA continued to receive the biggest share of this repressive onslaught and its members were usually tortured during interrogation, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in military courts. (218). ETA replied in kind, with a series of bank robberies, hold-ups, bombings and kidnappings which became more frequent from the end of 1971. In January 1972, the managing director of the Precicontrol company, Zabala, was kidnapped, and was only released after he had reinstated the 183 workers sacked for striking, and after an increase in wages had been decreed. (219).

This escalation in violence was not confined to shoot-outs between ETA and the police and Civil Guard (which were numerous between 1972 and 1973), confrontations between striking workers and the police also increased dramatically during the same years. (220). One of the most impressive acts of combativity and solidarity was displayed at the car plant Seat, in Barcelona in October 1971, when workers occupied the plant in support of twenty sacked workers. Some of these workers had been sacked for their trade union activity, but reinstated by the Labour Magistrature. When the employers refused to uphold this decision, 7,000 workers went on strike and decided in assembly to occupy the plant. A pitched battle ensued with the police, with workers brandishing iron bars and hammers. The confrontation lasted till late afternoon, with several wounded on both sides. (221).

The strike wave which got under way at the end of 1971 was itself a product of the rapid development which Spain had undergone during the previous few years. The "consumer boom" of these years had fuelled inflation, with a steep rise in prices which was not matched by a corresponding increase in wages, which, since 1970, had been kept at 6.5 %. (222). The 1971 strikes affected large sections of workers, many of whom had not previously been known for their militancy, and were on the whole carried out when negotiations for the new collective contracts broke down. (223). During the first months of 1972 the strike wave gained momentum, affecting shipbuilding, engineering, tyre making in Vitoria, while bank workers launched a three-pronged assault in Madrid, Barcelona and Seville. (224).

One of the most important, and tragic strikes took place in El Ferrol, Franco's birthplace, in March 1972, when workers struck after the signing of the collective contract. After six workers were sacked for their involvement in these strikes, the Bazan shipyard was occupied by 3,000 workers. The police retaliated by wounding twenty three men, which led to further demonstrations and the killing of two workers. The demonstrators continued, forcing the police to withdraw to their barracks, and for a few hours El Ferrol was in the hands of the workers. When reinforcements finally did arrive, they found the entire town in mourning - shops, offices, bars, cinemas, factories and schools all closed in sympathy. In a ministerial meeting in which Franco himself was present, the crisis was resolved by threatening the workers with court-martial, and "militarising" them back to work. (225).

Solidarity actions were not confined to Galicia, where thousands of workers struck in solidarity, but extended throughout Spain in the days ahead. Indeed, the events in El Ferrol did not serve to "contain" the movement, if that was the intention, but merely served to extend the strike wave and radicalise it further. Again, in April 1973, another

shooting occurred at San Adrián de Besós, a suburb of Barcelona, when building workers struck for a minimum wage, holidays and better working conditions. The death of a worker, when the police were called in by management after declaring a lock-out, led to a twenty-four hour strike by some of the larger firms in Barcelona : Seat, Maquinista, Hispano-Olivetti and several building firms. (226) . The Workers' Commissions, working with the students' organisations, led a demonstration of some 4,000 in Barcelona, while solidarity actions were carried-out in most of the larger Spanish towns. (227) .

On the University front, 1972 was to prove to be the "hottest year" since 1969. Certainly it took little to propel the situation to confrontation point, as the Universities had been virtually occupied since 1968, when campus police were introduced on a permanent basis. (228) . Moreover, as the Inter-Faculty Study Group of Madrid University pointed out, there were few career opportunities for graduates, the majority of whom were forced to seek employment abroad. (229) . The mass mobilisations of the universities in the late 60's and early 70's were on the basis of university reform, allied to demands for representative trade unions, and students were striking for reform of their courses more frequently in 1970 and 1971. (230) . As a result of such a strike by medical students in Madrid, the Rector of the University cancelled the enrollment of these students and demanded a written apology from each of them, with a guarantee that they would respect the authorities in future. (231) .

This action led to violent confrontations in the University of Madrid, followed by similar disturbances in several provincial universities. Students were fined, detained and expelled, and the medical faculty of Madrid University closed for a record five months. The movement continued however, despite the setting-up of disciplinary councils and regulations which allowed the permanent expulsion of subversive students and teachers. Teachers now had to hold

a "good conduct" certificate before being allowed to teach. In July 1972, the autonomy of Madrid and Barcelona Universities were suspended for a year. (232).

These measures brought forth the resignation of university Rectors, deans and professors in many Spanish universities, who were everywhere replaced by more rabid Francoists. But the agitation continued throughout 1972 and the first half of 1973, with strikes and confrontations with the police becoming a daily occurrence. The closure of Barcelona University, and the sacking of the Rectors of Barcelona and Madrid Universities did not bring the disturbance to an end, and the tension continued to mount throughout 1973. (233).

With agitation in the Universities at an all-time high, and a renewed strike at Seat and Barcelona, (which was contested by a lock-out by management), the extreme Right went on the offensive. Groups such as Guerrillas of Christ the King, Cruz Ibérica and the Círculo de Amigos de Europa, spouting nazi slogans, attacked progressive priests and carried-out hold-ups on banks. The complicity of the authorities in these actions, which moreover, were tried in civilian courts, only served to increase the already high level of tension in the universities and working class districts, which culminated in the stabbing to death of a policeman, the first since the Civil War, during the May Day demonstrations in Madrid. (234). The killing of a policeman, and the wounding of two others by FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista Patriótico) brought the Right and the police onto the streets, in massive demonstrations of strength, where both the Opus and the Interior Minister, Garicano, were openly attacked and ridiculed. As De Blaya says :

"The events of 1 st May were actually the opportunity the 'ultras' had longed for to precipitate developments. They wanted to put a strong man at the head of Spain's government before Franco died. Tired and old, the monarch of El Pardo was obviously no longer capable on his own of giving a serious turn of the screw. On 8th June 1973, the Generalísimo yielded to the pressure of those around him. Thenceforth, Luis Carrero Blanco would take

on the actual exercise of power. There was certainly nothing surprising in this choice. With Carrero the faithful, Carrero the ruthless, there was no cause for fear, the continuity of the system was assured : it was rather like Caetano in relation to the late Salazar.." (235).

de Blaye, London, 1974 p. 358.

The government formed by Carrero Blanco showed the sharp turn to the right which had taken place amongst Spain's governing classes since the Burgos trial. Men such as López Bravo, believed to be too "soft" in his foreign policy, especially with the British over Gibraltar, and the Interior Minister Garicano Gofi, who had refused to shoot on the demonstrators during the May Day events, were replaced by more "hardline" Francoists. The new Interior Minister, Arias Navarro, known as the "hangman of Malaga" for his ruthlessness during the Civil War, embodied the renewed vigour of the right, and their determination to end the "disturbances" of the previous years. (236).

Despite the increased presence of the Falange in the new government of Carrero, economic expansion and modernisation continued to be the major priorities, and "Opus" men continued in the key ministries. The economy certainly continued to grow, with a 10 % increase in industrial production in 1972, and had recovered from the recession years of 1967-1969. (237). The Third Development Plan for the years 1972-1973 was viewed with great optimism, with hopes that Spain would become one of the richest industrial countries in the world seemingly well placed. (238). With economic expansion underway, and the problems of the Succession solved with the ascension to power of Carrero, Spain's governing classes had reason for optimism in mid-1973. But the situation changed dramatically in December, when Carrero Blanco was blown to pieces in his car as he returned from daily mass in Madrid. The operation, carried-out by a commando of ETA, was so well planned and executed that at first it was thought that army specialists were involved. (239). Everyone held their breath as news of an army takeover circled through Spain. In the event, despite numerous detentions, a state of emergency was not declared and the army remained in its barracks. (240).

It appears that the "neutrality" of the army was due to the intervention of the moderate chief of the General Staff, Díez Alegría, who prevailed against the Guardia Civil chief Iniesto Cano, one of the most extreme "ultras", who had called on Franco to stage a right-wing coup. (241).

The choice of Carrero's successor at the end of December, came as no surprise. Arias Navarro, Carrero's tough Interior Minister, was considered second only to Carrero in his fidelity to Franco, and his first act as premier left little doubt as to the course he was to take. A few days after Arias' appointment, leaders of the Workers' Commissions, the "Carabachel Ten", were sentenced to up to twenty years imprisonment for their organising activities. (242). The government headed by Arias reflected the hardening of attitudes which was taking place, with the preponderance of Falangists and faithful Francoists and the exclusion of Opus in the most extensive purge yet witnessed under Franco. (243). Even Lopez Rodó, the brilliant Opus "technocrat" of the Development Plans of the 60's lost his post as Foreign Minister which he had held under Carrero. (244). To everyone's astonishment however, Arias announced the "opening" of the system, with a reform package which included the separation of powers, the establishment of political "associations", trade union reform which would allow workers' representation, and the election of town mayors. (245). The extent of these "reforms" was clearly seen a few weeks later, with the execution of the Catalan anarchist, Puig Antich, by garrote, an execution believed to have been to avenge the assassination of Carrero. (246). In the event, Arias' "liberalisation" process came up against the hard reality of the Portuguese revolution, when it was feared that the example might encourage the Spanish left in a similar endeavour. By June 1974, Arias had announced the postponement of the reform programme, while Franco had dismissed the liberal Chief of the General Staff, Díez Alegría, fearing that he could become the "Spinola" of Spain. (247). The two most "liberal" Ministers of the Arias' team, Barrera de Irimo and Pío Cabanillas (Treasury and Information) were sacked later in the year. Indeed, between January 1974 and June 1975,

a third of the ministerial appointments were changed, due to deaths, re-shufflings or resignations. (248).

Certainly the history of the government of Arias, and the ups and downs of his reform programme, reflected clearly the grave crisis of the Francoist state in the final years of the General's reign. Indeed, Arias' "liberalisation process" was a classic case of "too little too late", and moreover was stymied by Franco and the Right before it could ever be tested in practice. As Paul Preston points out, events in Europe were of great importance at this time :

"The first half of 1974 passed in a mood of hopeful cooperation on the moderate left. The feeling that Carrero's death had imposed new options was reinforced by events abroad. The Italian divorce referendum, the French presidential elections and the Portuguese revolution were watched in Spain with intense interest. All these events polarized the situation and did much to politicise Spain by proxy. The fall of Caetano, the defeat of Fanfani, the near victory of Mitterrand and later the collapse of the Greek colonels convinced the left and many of the right that change must be given before it was taken. With possible success nearer than ever before, disputes about the distant future were replaced by a more pragmatic approach to the immediate task of removing the Franco regime."

Preston, London, 1976 p. 152.

This new pragmatism had been demonstrated in November 1971, when the first Catalan Assembly of Democratic Forces was held in Barcelona, which was attended by three hundred delegates from the leading political organisations of Catalonia, including some Trotskyist and Maoist groups, Workers' Commission delegates, progressive Catholics, monarchists and even individual representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie. (249). This process spread throughout Spain during 1973, and speeded up considerably after Carrero's death. This movement, known as the "democratic break" (la ruptura democrática) was given a great boost after the Portuguese revolution, with the Communist Party claiming that similar processes were at work in Spain.

"The Communists considered that Caetano had fallen under pressure from something that resembled the 'pact for Liberty' - an alliance of workers, the army and 'the most dynamic and liberal sectors of capitalism'. The Secretary General proclaimed the need to make alliances like those already emerging and condemned sectarian attitudes."

Preston, London, 1976, p. 152.

The CP's bid for unity was not wholly realised, as the Junta Democrática, set-up by the C.P. in Paris and Madrid in July 1974, though including the Popular Socialist Party of Tierno Galván and Opus members such as Calvo Serer, was rejected by the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE), who founded their own alternative, the Platform of Democratic Convergence, in the early months of 1975. (250). The Platform included such groups as Riduejo's Social Democratic Union, and the Christian Democrats of Ruíz Giménez. Later, in 1975, some erstwhile revolutionary organisations, Bandera Roja and the O.R.T. (Revolutionary Workers' Organisation) joined the Junta and Plataforma respectively, while many others debated the wisdom of carrying-out a similar strategy. (251).

It was during these same years that the Spanish Socialist Party witnessed a great resurgence in popularity and activity. While it had continued to have support in the sixties in its traditional bastions of power, Asturias and the Basque provinces, and had animated an important student following in the universities, it was hampered by an out-of-touch bureaucracy, headed by Llopis and other older exiles. This caused a split in 1968, when Tierno Galván formed the Popular Socialist Party. By 1972, the older bureaucrats had been ousted, and militants from the interior, led by the youthful and charismatic Felipe González, took over the reins of the organisation. The consolidation of the renewed party, at Suresnes in 1974, took place against the backdrop of the Portuguese revolution and a corresponding upsurge in the popularity of the Socialists, deemed capable of playing a similar part in the Spanish democratic process. (252).

Undoubtedly it was this growth in the opposition's activities which propelled Arias into decreeing some type of reform, however limited, of the crumbling edifice of Francoist Spain. Certainly Spain was crumbling in more ways than one during these last years of Francoism, as the Spanish "miracle", which had formed such an important part of Francoist rhetoric, was visibly grinding to a halt. Floods, during the winter of 1973, caused the death of hundreds of people and livestock, while the almost total destruction of the agrarian infrastructure in the South and East left these provinces devastated.

The following winter severe drought meant the loss of numerous crops, with twenty provinces classified as "catastrophic zones". (253). As a result of these agrarian disasters, thousands emigrated to the towns, which exacerbated the unemployment problem considerably, given the fall in tourism and construction, as the energy crisis and price increases began to bite. Indeed, tourism dropped by 17 % in 1974, the balance of payments deficit grew vertiginously, while the gross national product grew by only 4.6 %, compared to an average 8 % during the previous fourteen years. Moreover, political uncertainty had caused a steep fall in foreign capital investment. (254).

To many on the left of the CP the situation in Spain during these last years of Francoism seemed to correspond to Lenin's preconditions for revolution : economic crisis, an uncertain and divided ruling class, and a working class which was daily showing its combativeness and increasing politicisation. Strikes, triggered by economic motives, quickly became political and general, especially in the industrial regions of the North and Catalonia. (255). The power and strength of the Workers' Commissions grew apace. An example of this strength was demonstrated in Pamplona in 1973 when, in response to the sacking of some workers in the car industry, solidarity strikes took place throughout the Basque provinces, and became almost general a few days later. (256).

These types of actions increased throughout 1974, which registered a record level of 1,900 strikes. (257). In June 1975, a "working week" organised by the Partido del Trabajo de España, (Spanish Workers Party) (258), brought thousands of workers in the construction industry out, with slogans for "democratic freedoms". Similar acts took place in other points of Spain, particularly Madrid, Seville and Zaragoza. (259).

This unprecedented strength of working class power and organisation seemed to bear out the revolutionary perspective, especially after the success of the Portuguese revolution. Revolutionary groups abounded and extended their influence. (260). Priests, especially in the Basque provinces, talked of the similarities between Marxism and Christianity, and the need for changes of a "class nature" in Spain. (261). The growth of violence, from such groups as FRAP, MIL and GARI, and the continuing campaign by ETA, served to confirm, for many, the drift towards a violent class confrontation, especially as this was increasingly contested by violence from extreme Right-wing groups. (262). As Ben Ami points out, the violence by left and right-wing groups during the last months of Franco's life, was redolent of the war between rival factions during the "tragic spring" of 1936, just before the start of the Civil War. (263).

There were real fears that a revolutionary situation might develop during the last years of Franco's rule. Undoubtedly the more advanced and "European" industrialists were aware that a "democratic" alliance with the most important working class organisations, the CP and the Workers' Commissions, was imperative to stabilise the situation and avoid the confrontative type of labour relations which breeds revolutionary alternatives. Indeed, in an assembly of businessmen in Barcelona in 1975, it was overwhelmingly agreed that it was no longer possible to deal with the defunct syndical bureaucracy of the C.N.S., as they did not represent "real working class forces". (264).

As a result of this pressure, from workers and employers alike, trade union elections were authorised at the beginning of 1975, for "enlace" and "jurados de empresa" in the first round. The candidature Democrática Unida (Democratic Unity Candidacy) composed of the Workers' Commissions and the Union Sindical Obrera, obtained 60 to 80 % of the votes. (265). Though limited (representatives were elected only at the factory level - the provincial and national bureaucracies remained) these elections represented the death knell of Francoist corporatism. For, as Ben Ami points out, these first elections were fought on a programme which concentrated almost exclusively on pay and working conditions, and had little direct "political" content. But, as the new "enlaces" and "jurados" were soon to discover, they were hampered by the continuing presence of the provincial and national bureaucracies, and were unable to get their demands taken up. This led to more overt "political" acts throughout 1975. (266)

Time was certainly running out for the Francoist regime, a regime which could not continue in existence without the dictator himself. The scramble for position in a new Spain accelerated during Franco's illness and delegation of powers to Juan Carlos between July and September 1974. Numerous erstwhile Francoists, taking advantage of the "associations' Law" of Arias, now formed groupings of all shades of blue, renounced their political past and prepared themselves for the inevitable democratic changes to come. (267).

The Caudillo, now in his eighty-second year, returned with vigour however, in September 1974, and it was undoubtedly as a result of his pressure that the two most "liberal" ministers in Arias' cabinet were relieved of their posts in October (268). Certainly the Right-wing was trying to hold on as best it could, and exerting increasing pressure after the bombing in a Madrid café of eleven persons. This act, although officially attributed to ETA, was generally believed to have been a provocation by extreme right-wing terrorists. (269).

The last year of the dictator's rule, 1975, gave the appearance that very little had changed in the regime forged out of the Civil War, some thirty-six years before. Massive demonstrations continued to be staged by the Workers' Commissions in Madrid, the Basque provinces and Catalonia, while a state of emergency was declared in the Basque Provinces after the shooting of two policemen in April. Anti-terrorist legislation, previously only applied to the Basque provinces, was now extended throughout Spain. The Caudillo's final act symbolised the authoritarianism of his rule : five ETA and FRAP members were executed in September, despite massive protests at home and abroad. (270).

But it was soon realised that the time had passed when such actions could detain the process towards another type of political regime. On October 6, the government declared that the death sentence would no longer be applied, even though three policemen had been killed in the Basque provinces a few days before. (271). The end of the Francoist regime was now a fait accompli, and the dictator dutifully died on November 20, 1975.

BIBLIOGRAPHY / NOTES

1. In March 1948, the American Congress had voted overwhelmingly to include Spain within the Marshall Plan. Protests from Spanish exiles and European social democrats, however, halted this move. But just a few days later, Spain and Argentina signed an important economic agreement, which conceded credit and large quantities of grain to the Francoist regime. Given the close links between the Peronist dictatorship and Western finance and industry, it could be said that the survival of the regime was backed by Washington and London.

Max Gallo : La Historia de la España Franquista.
Paris, 1969.

2. Max Gallo, op. cit.

3. Although J. Esteban mentions the growing concern of industrialists (especially in Catalonia), he says that very clear liberal commitments for the Spanish economy were included in the 1953 Pact.

J. Esteban : The Economic Policy of Francoism, in Spain in Crisis,.
Ed. P. Preston, London, 1976.

He argues that although the failure of economic autarchy had been apparent for some time, there was reluctance to bring about any change until 1951.

4. Gallo. op. cit.
Eduard de Blaye : Franco and the Politics of Spain.
London, 1974.

5. Gallo. op. cit.

6. Gallo. op. cit. p. 224.

The new economic direction of 1951 was accompanied by the unleashing of severe repression. After a relative lull of a few years, the period between 1949-1953 saw an increase in the arsenal of repression. The anti-terrorist law of 1947 was again applied (this law subjected to the discipline of the military tribunals all those who circulated news adverse to the regime). In this period, 300 prison sentences, and 17 death sentences (seven were carried out) were passed on trade union activists and other anti-Francoists. One of these was Thomas Centano, general secretary of the U.G.T. He died after being interrogated in police cells.
Gallo. op. cit.

7. Gallo. op. cit.
8. de Blaye. op. cit.
Gallo. op. cit.
9. Gallo. op. cit.
de Blaye. op. cit.
10. Gallo. op. cit.
11. The Nazi-sounding Department of Propaganda was re-named Information and Tourism, but was headed by Arias Salgado, a man who was considered, even by Francoists, as a "frenzied reactionary".
de Blaye. op. cit.
12. In December 1949, great political capital was made of the granting of a partial amnesty, which affected, in theory, 13,000 political prisoners. However, only 3,000 were actually released. One can see in these, and similar moves, an attempt to create the impression that some new sorts of political freedoms were being introduced. This was partly successful. In 1952, Spain was allowed to join UNESCO.
de Blaye. op. cit.
13. Gallo. op. cit.
14. This was, of course, Arias Salgado.
de Blaye. op. cit.
15. Jose Maravall : Modernisation, Authoritarianism and the Growth of Working Class Dissent. The Case of Spain. Government and Opposition. Vol. 8 N° 4, 1973, p. 440.
16. The holding of trade union elections was decreed in July 1943, but were not held till October 1944. This must be seen as part of the overall strategy of Francoism at that time : the Allied victory was perceived in 1942, and Franco began to initiate a few cosmetic changes in the regime. The Cortes (the parliament which only allowed for one of its sections to be elected on a very limited franchise) was created in 1942. The "Fuero de los Espanoles" (Spanish Charter) was promulgated in 1945, which promised citizens' rights, and the Referendum Law saw the light in the same year. The latter would ask the nation to vote on the national questions of importance, decided, of course, by Franco himself. The first referendum was held in 1947. This changed Spain into a Kingdom, but without a king. Following the trade union "democratisation" begun in 1943, in 1947 the "jurados de empresa" (a sort of shop stewards committee) law was decreed. This was only implemented in 1953.
17. Jose Maravall. op. cit.
18. It would appear that the introduction of collective bargaining did have important consequences for productivity

growth. An analysis of 585 collective contracts for 1963 (50,5 % of the total) shows that procedures for control and stimulation of personal productivity were included in 475 cases, i.e. 81,5 % of the total.

J. Maravall op. cit.

It must be remembered that although these years saw a huge increase in imports of machinery and technology (one of the main reasons for the huge balance of payments deficits and inflation), a great deal of expansion took place on a craft basis, which meant an increasing demand for skilled labour, and favoured working class pressure over the employers.

R. Bulnes : Del Sindicalismo de represion al sindicalismo de integration, in Horizonte Español. Vol. 2, 1966.

19. R. Bulnes. op. cit.

20. Between 1955 - 1956, the growth rate was 6,9 %, and GNP per capita grew at an annual rate of 4,45 % between 1951 - 1958, the third highest in Europe after West Germany and Italy.

J. Maravall. op. cit.

21. J. Esteban. op. cit.

22. Although it is estimated that more than 800,000 migrated to the towns in the 1940's (not a surprising figure given that agriculture wages fell by 40 % in real terms between 1940 and 1951), this was kept in check by a system of good conduct passes which agricultural workers had to procure before being allowed to travel. This period till 1951 has been term "Agrarian Fascist" by Eduardo Sevilla-Guzman, when, he says, the "ideology of peasant sovereignty" prevailed. During this period export of oranges and olive oil was discouraged, while an attempt to obtain self-sufficiency in wheat was undertaken. The state wheat board (Servicio Nacional del Trigo), kept wheat prices artificially high while those with adequate transport and storage facilities (i.e. the large landowners) were able to play the black market. The colonisation Institute was created just after the end of the Civil War, and its aim was to create a sturdy peasantry as the basis of the regime. The rhetoric of this plan is clearly demonstrated : only 23,000 settlements were created between 1939 and 1951 : 0,2 % of the total of landless peasants. Since that date the decrease has been even more dramatic. As Guzman points out, the programmes of irrigation and electrification of farms, part of the "colonisation" plan, have benefitted above all the large landowners. "Indeed the INC (Colonisation Institute) devoted more effort to administrating the return to their owners of estates expropriated under the Republic than to examining the question of the latifundio problem". E.S. Guzman : The Peasantry and the Franco regime. In Spain in Crisis, ed. P. Preston, London, 1976.

23. Other points in the Concordant were :
- a) only canon law marriages are legal.
 - b) clergy and members of religious orders are exempt from military service.
 - c) Church properties exempted from taxation.
 - d) Church has a veto over educational curricula and teachers.

In October 1961, Franco disclosed that in 25 years the regime had rebuilt sixty-six seminaries in Spain's 64 dioceses at the cost of 50 million dollars : no trivial sum for a nation then emerging from insolvency.

Benjamin Welles : Spain - The Gentle Anarchy.
London, 1965.

24. Bishops had to swear allegiance to Franco and the Spanish State, and moreover, "strike to avoid any evil that might threaten it". No other Catholic country in Europe, even Salazar's Portugal, had been honoured with such direct and overt support.

Norman Cooper : The Church - from Crusade to Christianity, in Spain in Crisis. op. cit.

25. Fernandez de Castro : La Iglesia de la Cruzada y sus supervivencias, in Horizonte Español. vol. 2, 1966.

26. As regards the reasons for the creation of the Workers' Association, Benjamin Welles has this to say : "The brotherhoods were formed by Cardinal Plá in 1947, when the Vatican and the Spanish Church both sensed the rising force of labour in postwar Europe. The hierarchy was worried about labour's traditional contempt for the old Catholic Syndicates, which were regarded as boss-run, or 'yellow' unions. If the Church could not provide an alternative, the workers might revert to Marxism, or to the old Socialist U.G.T. and the Anarchist C.N.T.".

B. Welles. op. cit. p. 165.

Opus Dei was founded in 1928 by a wealthy young priest, Escriva de Balaguer, to combat the anti-religious and anti-monarchical ambience which reigned in the Universities. It did not really get going till 1939, when Franco recognised it as a Church agency. In 1943, it was raised by the Vatican to the status of a diocesan activity, without vows. Although conceived of as an organisation with different aims and appeal to different strata of the population, its underlying motives were essentially the same as Catholic Action. As Benjamin Welles points out : "The Vatican had begun to plan for the Post-World-War Two period, but the prospects were sombre. Western Europe's economy was shattered ; Soviet armies were overrunning central and eastern Europe ; Communist influence was spreading in Europe and Asia, and Stalin unquestionably would have a seat at the peace table. The Vatican now developed the concept of secular institutions, elite Catholic groups tailored to fill the gap between the old religious orders, isolated from everyday life, and the mass organisations such as Catholic Action, whose very size often robbed them of efficiency.

Escrivá's plan won Papal support. This was not to be a worker-priest organisation but a tightly-knit body of lawyers, doctors, architects, bankers, economists and professional men united by a common belief and responding to a common discipline. In 1946, Escrivá was summoned to Rome, named by Pius XII President of Opus Dei, and authorised to develop his idea throughout the world. Opus Dei's star was in the ascendant".

B. Welles. op. cit. p. 157.

27. I shall try to develop this point in the next chapter, in relation to the growth of certain anarchist groups. Moreover, this Christian and anti-Machiavellian attitude has been important in many sectors of the Spanish workers' movement. It has not been confined solely to the libertarians.
28. Fernandez de Castro. op. cit. p. 221.
It should be mentioned that the social background of the priests is changing. A larger proportion now come from the urban professional middle-classes, with a smaller number of aristocratic and agricultural backgrounds represented.
Norman Cooper. op. cit.
29. The division within the Spanish CP was along exile/internal lines. The internal leadership under Quiriones refused to propagate the slogan "national union of all Spaniards" issued after the German invasion of the USSR in 1941.
Guy Hermet : Los Comunistas en España.
Paris, 1972.
30. The opening of the French border allowed for greater communication with Western Europe, and a lessening of Eastern European influences, plus easier circulation of propaganda by members not known to the police, or disguised as tourists.
G. Hermet. op. cit.
31. The errors mentioned were the "personality cult" and anti-democratic decision-making.
G. Hermet. op. cit.
32. This was the case with Vicente Uribe, member of the political bureau for twenty five years, who was elbowed out because of his unwillingness to adhere to the new CP policies.
G. Hermet. op. cit.
33. G. Hermet. op. cit.
34. Fernando Claudín : Dos Concepciones de la vía española al socialismo, in Horizonte Español. vol. 2, 1966.

35. Gallo. op. cit.
Jorge Semprún : Autobiografía de Federico Sanchez.
Madrid, 1977.
36. Jorge Semprún. op. cit.
37. Lorenzo Torres : The Spanish Left - Illusion and Reality.
Socialist Register, 1966.
38. For example, in the trials of 1959 and 1960, CP members
were given sentences of up to twenty years, while
Socialists and Catholics detained at the same time were
given no more than eight.
Gallo. op. cit.
39. As late as 1954, Llopis, secretary general of the
Socialist Party, still believed that Franco had backed
the wrong horse, and that Europe, especially England,
would ultimately come to the aid of the Spanish democrats.
Gallo. op. cit.
40. The 1956 movement of students and workers was the largest
mass movement since the end of the Civil War.
41. Elías Díaz : Pensamiento Español. 1939 - 1975.
Madrid, 1978.
42. Elias Diaz. op. cit.
43. The Sindicato Español de Estudiantes (Spanish Students'
Union) had been set-up in the mid-1930's.
44. For example, José Ibañez Martín, Education Minister
during the first ten years of the regime, declared in the
Cortes' session which approved the Act : "What is indeed
important from a political point of view is to eradicate
from teaching and from scientific creation, ideological
neutrality and to banish laicism, to train a new youth
imbued with that Augustinian principle that science does
not bring one any closer to the Supreme Being".
Quoted in J. Maravall : Dictatorship and Political Dissent.
Workers and Students in Franco's Spain.
London, 1978. p. 100.
Ibanez Martin was a member of Catholic Action (AGNP),
and a close associate of Opus Dei members.
45. "Between 1939 and 1944, 155 professors were appointed
- 56 % of all professors in Spanish universities in
1944, whereas exile and the Law on Repression of
Communism and Free Masonry had eliminated a large number
of Republican university teachers."
J. Maravall : Dictatorship and Political Dissent.
op. cit. p. 99.
Besides a few ideologues and poets (Eugenio d'Ors,
Pedro Laín Entralgo, Dionísio Ridruejo), the Falange had
few professors in their ranks.

46. As Norman Cooper shows, Opus Dei had its centre of power in the CSIC (Higher Research Institution) whose secretary general was Albareda Herrera, one of the founders of Opus. "The CSIC had taken over the role of the Republican Junta para Ampliacion de Estudios, responsible for the allocation of grants for higher education. By this means Opus Dei could select people favourable to their ideology and build up a cadre of leaders within Francoist Spain, in accordance with the instructions given by Escrivá in the Opus handbook 'Camino'. Like the ACNP, the Opus Dei were successful during the forties in obtaining university chairs, thanks to the 1943 University Act which gave the Minister of Education the power to nominate three of the five members of the Tribunal which would supervise the tests required for selection. Among those who became University professors were Calvo Serer himself and the future Ministers Laureano Lopez Rodó, and Alberto Ullastres Calvo."

Norman Cooper. op. cit.

47. As Guy Hermet says : "The relative flexibility of the censor allowed for the publication of a growing number of texts by Marx and Engels and various other works. Thus, slowly we see the passing from the phase of simple initiation with Marxism to that of Marxist thought itself."

Guy Hermet. op. cit.

Aranguren, a university professor, was important in propagating the ideas of existentialism.

48. The Socialist Realist movement was the first "awakening" in the Spanish arts since the cultural devastation which the Civil War and the post-war repression had wrought. In Literature, José Cela, Ana Marfa Matute, Rafael Sanchez, in theatre, Alfonso Sastre, poetry, Blas de Otero, and in cinema, Bardem and Berlanga.

Elías Díaz. op. cit.

49. Alfonso Sastre, Sanchez Ferlosio, Bardem and Juan Velarde Fuerte amongst others.

Elías Díaz. op. cit.

50. Quoted in Elias Diaz. op. cit.

51. A. Peña : Veinticinco años de luchas estudiantiles, in Horizonte Español. Vol. 2, 1966.

52. This must be seen in the context of Franco's use of the different clans at various times to "neutralise" one another, and thus strengthen his position as sole arbiter and guarantor of the social order. Throughout the 50's he alternatively encouraged the Falange - at a massive Falange demonstration in October 1953, 150,000 attended - and the Monarchists - interview with Don Juan in December 1954 to discuss the education of the future king, Juan Carlos. In an interview in the "Sunday Times", it was announced that Franco would step down in 1964, and Juan Carlos would be crowned king.

Gallo. op. cit.

53. The Opus' rise within the University has already been mentioned. After 1951, with the appointment of Ruiz Jiménez, their assault on government began. The programme put forward by Calvo Serer was essentially :
a) in the political sphere : a Monarchist restoration.
b) economics : control of public spending and an administrative reorganisation and an affirmation of economic freedom. As Gallo says, "It was a programme which had as a goal to check any liberal evolution (Christian Democrat) or Republican (Falange) or revolutionary (the case with some Left Falangists) allowing at the same time economic development."
Gallo. op. cit. p. 251.
54. Gallo. op. cit.
55. Gallo. op. cit.
56. A. Peña. op. cit.
57. A. Peña. op. cit.
58. Gallo. op. cit.
59. Gallo. op. cit.
A. Pena. op. cit.
60. The Frente de Liberación Popular, was at this time committed to armed struggle, and shunned the idea of a party, designing itself on the Castro "frontism" which had won in the Cuban revolution. It was of great historical importance in being a sort of "bridge" between radical Christianity and Marxism. Many of its leaders would go on to form the many Trotskyist groups in the 1960's.
Sanz Oller : Entre el Fraude y la Esperanza.
Paris, 1972.
61. A. Peña. op. cit.
62. The larger firms in Barcelona, such as Maquinista and Seat, were often at the forefront of the struggle in the town. In Bilbao, Babcock and Wilcox and General Electric often played a similar role.
Gallo. op. cit.
Sanz Oller. op. cit.
63. There were two-stage wage increases : on April 28 and November of the same year.
64. Military juntas, set-up in 1956 in Valencia, Seville and Valladolid, discussed the student disturbances, strikes and the Moroccan problem (Spain gave up its colony in that year). There were many comings and goings between Franco and the generals, the latter reputedly offering themselves to put an end to the "unrest".
Gallo. op. cit.

65. Monsignor Herrera, in a pastoral letter, criticised the lack of social conscience of Spanish Catholics. The Falange in the vertical syndicates, closer to the workers, pushed for the wage rises.
Gallo. op. cit.
66. In June 1956, the American ambassador in Madrid said that "American capital could give efficient aid to Spanish capital to develop the country, if liberalisation measures were taken".
Gallo. op. cit. p. 273.
Also, American loans were turned down. It is generally thought that the conditions for more financial help were dependent on full liberalisation of the economy and an end to bungling etatism.
J. Esteban. op. cit.
67. Gallo. op. cit.
68. With the appointment of Arrese in February 1956, the Falangists thought that their moment had arrived, as Arrese was one of the theoreticians of national socialism. Franco then asked the Falange to prepare new fundamental laws which would give him popular support. Throughout 1956 Falange activity was feverish, and for the first time in many years was able to recruit new members. But in January 1957, Franco rejected the plans and drew-up his own laws in May 1958. As a result of this rapprochement between the Falange and the Francoist regime, many "radical" Falangists, such as González Vicén, resigned.
Gallo. op. cit.
69. Giron, Labour Minister, and Arrese, secretary general of the Movement, were removed.
70. This was expressed in the memorandum sent to the IMF and the OEC.
J. Esteban. op. cit.
80. Gallo. op. cit.
81. It must be remembered that the use of military law in Spain has been one of the main arms of the regime. As M.G. Garcia explains : "In April 1947, the period of martial law, which had begun in 1936 came more or less to an end. From then onwards, certain non-violent political crimes have come under the jurisdiction of civil magistrates. But for many years, and even today, the military tribunals have retained jurisdiction over arenas which are normally reserved for civilian courts in other countries. The Code of Military Law, published in 1943, continues to be applicable to crimes which threaten the security of the state, and until 1963, included offences of expression and opinion and strikes. The Law of Banditry and Terrorism, to pursue political violence, was passed in 1943, and brought up to date in 1960 ; it was made less harsh in 1963 with the creation of the Public Order Courts, and tightened-up yet again in 1968."

M.G. García : The Armed Forces : Poor Relation of the Franco Regime, in Spain in Crisis; op. cit.

82. Gallo. op. cit.
83. These commissions were groups of delegates, elected by their workmates to represent them in a particular struggle. When the strike ended, the Commissions would be dissolved.
84. It is estimated that 50 % more workers left Spain than in the previous year, while national income dropped by 3,6 %. The threat of unemployment and lowered living standards prevented any large-scale strikes.
85. It is difficult to assess the level of influence of the ASO in 1958, as libertarian sources tend to exaggerate its importance, while other sources barely mention it.
86. An attempt to control and contain the movement began at this time, although more stringent measures were not applied until the late 60's.
J. Colomer : La JOC en España : 1946 - 1970. Salamanca, 1978.
87. This would later be called the Federación Solidaria de Trabajadores.
88. The SOC - Solidaritat d'Obrera Catòlica, later Catalans. The AST - Accion Sindical de Trabajadores, was created partly by the Jesuits in 1964.
89. Although the FST in its manifesto did say that the workers' movement had to be constituted by a trade union and a party, as did some militants from the other groups. (FST : Declaración de Asturias : founding document. 1958).
90. Gallo. op. cit.
91. By the end of the year, Spanish revenues had rocketed to 200 million dollars. The increase in foreign capital was from 46,5 million dollars in 1960, to 154,4 million in 1964.
Gallo. op. cit.
92. Gallo. op. cit.
93. R. Bulnes. op. cit.
94. The usual strategy of presenting a liberalising image abroad, while carrying-out repression in Spain continued. On the death of Pius VII, an amnesty was declared. Exactly one month later, Eymar, head of the politico-social brigade, launched a round-up in all the major Spanish cities ; Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Granada, Seville, San Sebastian, Vitoria and Zaragoza, accusing

the detained of having tried to reconstruct the Socialist Party (November 1958). After the National Pacific Strike (June 1959), a new tougher Public Order Law was promulgated, while in 1960 a massive witch-hunt was undertaken in the southern provinces of Cordoba and Seville. More than 400 people were detained. After the National Pacific Strike (HNP) attempt several leaders and numerous militants of the CP, the FLP and the ASU were imprisoned (Julio Ceron, Sanchez Montero etc...)

Gallo. op. cit.

95. The last strike wave occurred in Asturias in March 1958, when 15,000 workers were involved. Several articles of the Fuero (Spanish Charter) were suspended and the miners were forced back to work. A month later, however, the five largest firms in Barcelona went on strike (about 25,000 workers were involved). In the Basque provinces too, go slows occurred. These favoured actions in the Universities : Madrid, Barcelona, Seville and Zaragoza universities went on strike. However, massive detentions silenced both these fronts within a month. These strikes, and the HNP organised by the CP, ended in failure.
de Blaye. op. cit.
96. Gallo. op. cit.
97. I shall look more fully at the DRIL and revolutionary armed action in the next chapter. However, mention should be made of a spectacular action carried-out by the DRIL in January 1961. A DRIL commando, headed by the Portuguese captain Henrique Falvao, hijacked the Portuguese transatlantic ship "Santa María", to inform the world that resistance was going on against the Salazar and Franco dictatorships. Composed of Portuguese, Spanish and South Americans, the DRIL was presented by the Spanish press as an international communist organisation which used terrorists trained in Cuba. This was categorically denied by the organisation.
de Blaye. op. cit.
98. España Hoy. (Collection of newspaper cuttings). Paris, 1965.
99. To chart the history of the Nationalist movements in Catalonia and the Basque provinces is beyond the scope of this paper. However, certain general points should be made. In Catalonia, a certain cultural renaissance began around 1942 - 1943, when the "Catòlics Catalans" group contested the SEU monopoly of the universities. But the Church proved a more popular centre for nationalist feeling, with the abbot Escarre, at the monastery in Montserrat, able to organise thousands at his ceremonies. A more political Catalanism began to emerge after the

1956 events, when the main groupings can be clearly detected : the moderate "Catolics Catalans" and the more left-wing group around Castellet. The massive influx of immigrants from Andalusia between 1940 and 1960, raised the question of language (Catalan was not taught in schools), which continues unsolved to this day. The early sixties saw the birth of the nova cansó Catalá (protest songs) which swept Catalan youth in the sixties. Petitions were sent to the government demanding that Catalan be taught in schools, and the demand that Catalan newspapers be published issued from the Institut d'Estuds Catalans.

Norman Jones : The Catalan Question since the Civil War. Spain in Crisis. op. cit.

Language was also one of the principal demands in the Basque provinces. An independent school movement, the "ikastolas" got underway in the fifties, greatly helped by the clergy. The Basque political situation retained greater continuity, as the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party) remained the dominant organisation. After the 1947 general strike, organised primarily by the PNV, organised opposition collapsed. A group of university students in Bilbao attempted to build a national alternative and set-up a study group, "Ekin", the name of their magazine, in 1952. This merged with the PNV youth group Euzko-Gastedi in 1957. The alliance broke down a year later, as Ekin viewed the PNV as too right-wing and out-of-date. Thus it was that in 1959 ETA was formed. National feeling has often been allied to radical trade unionism in the Basque provinces, with ETA setting-up its own trade unions which have often been powerful in organising general strikes in the provinces.

L. Hollyman : Basque Revolutionary Separatism - ETA. in Spain in Crisis. op. cit.

F. Letamendía : in Viejo Topo, June, 1979.

100. F. Letamendía. op. cit.

101. Gallo. op. cit.

102. Intellectuals frequently supported student demands. Figures like Tierno Galván, Antonio Menchaca, Lopez Aparicio and Dionísio Ridruejo, tried in March 1961 for their political involvement, symbolised the active intellectual opposition to the regime.

Elías Díaz. op. cit.

103. As Gallo points out, more and more oppositionists were coming out into the open during these years. "Liberal intellectuals sign petitions and publish articles in foreign papers. The courts were being used as platforms.

CP member, Miguel Nuñez used the courts in this way in 1958, as did some priests and Julio Ceron, another CP member, a few years earlier".

Gallo. op. cit. p. 231.

104. Losada editions in Buenos Aires published a thologies of prohibited Republican poets and novelists, while Castellet editions published works in Castillian and Catalan of works previously unknown in Spain. In 1961, a group of exiles in Paris founded Ruedo Ibérico, which mostly published historical narratives. and sought to analyse contemporary problems from a non-Francoist perspective.
105. Espana Hoy. op. cit.
106. The VII Congress of the PSOE was held in Toulouse. Militants from the interior called for common actions with all the opposition forces, but especially the CP. This demand was ignored. At the MSC Conference (the Socialist Movement of Catalonia) in 1958, the need to coordinate all opposition forces in Catalonia was stressed. The "Acuerdo de Paris" (1957) was signed by most opposition forces (except the CP the POUM and the "apolitical" faction of the C.N.T.), calling for the need to form a provisional government which would set the electoral process in motion. Nothing however was said about what kind of action and strategy this involved, and so the agreement remained a dead letter. Calls for unity were heard from the Socialist University group (ASU), the Democratic Union Group (UDE) and by sectors of the FLP.
Espana Hoy. op. cit.
107. Gallo. op. cit.
108. The figures for 1961 are : Wages per hour, 118.3 productivity per hour, 123.2. As these are official figures, the real figures probably show a greater gap.
Jordi Blanco : Las Huelgas en el Movimiento Obrero Español. In Horizonte Español, 1966. vol. 2 p. 160-1.
109. Throughout the year, strikes in Granada, Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona, demonstrations in the Basque provinces, student demonstrations and strikes and attacks on "Opus" control of the universities showed that the pace of "contestation" was speeding-up.
Espana Hoy. op. cit.
110. Espana Hoy. op. cit.
Guy Hermet. op. cit
111. E.S. Guzman. op. cit.
112. E.S. Guzman. op. cit.
Gallo. op. cit.

113. This would speed-up considerably in the later 1960's. Indeed, between 1964 and 1970, 50 % of those leaving the land were land-owning peasants.
E.S. Guzman. op. cit.
114. J. Esteban. op. cit.
115. Gallo. op. cit
116. Gallo. op. cit. p. 329.
117. Gallo. op. cit.
118. In Espana Hoy some of the literature of the period is reproduced, which clearly shows how quickly protest actions became political.
Espana Hoy. op. cit.
119. España Hoy. op. cit.
120. España Hoy. op. cit.
Gallo. op. cit. p. 333.
121. España Hoy. op. cit.
122. Jose Maravall : Dictatorship and Political Dissent.
op. cit.
123. A. Peña. op. cit.
124. A. Peña. op. cit.
J. Maravall. op. cit
125. A. Peña. op. cit.
J. Maravall. op. cit.
126. Gallo. op. cit. p. 340.
127. España Hoy. op. cit.
128. The Communists' attempt at yet another General Political Strike, in September 1962, was the greatest failure so far for this kind of venture, while the Alianza Sindical (CNT/UGT/STV) broke down, indicators of the demoralisation which reigned after the mass actions of 1962.
Espana Hoy. op. cit.
Gallo. op. cit.
129. The guilt of these Young Libertarians was never proved. On the contrary, an independent inquiry insisted that the attacks were carried-out by a commando which had nothing to do with the accused.
Espana Hoy. op. cit.
130. Gallo. op. cit.
131. Gallo. op. cit.

132. The main points of the plan were the following :
 (mainly on the recommendations submitted by the
 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development)
 a) an end to the control still exercised by the government over the economy and a greater rationalisation and reliance on market forces.
 b) balancing the budget.
 c) increasing foreign trade and investment.
 d) the INI (National Enterprise Board) should continue to invest in areas still unattractive to private investors.
 e) an "indicative" investment plan for private enterprise.
 f) improvement in agricultural technique.
 g) regional decentralisation.
 The last of these items was the one most fully realised, with the creation of "poles of promotion" where industrialisation had not begun (Huelva, Burgos), and "poles of development" where it was expanding (Seville, Vigo, Valladolid, Zaragoza and La Corunna).
 A programme of public investment was launched amounting to over 2,000 million pounds, with the backing of the OEEC, the IMF and the money from the defence agreement with the U.S..
 J. Esteban. op. cit.
133. More than a million abandoned agriculture between 1960 and 1968, while those living in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants rose from 19.1 % in 1960 to 32.7 % in 1965, higher than Italy, Sweden or the Soviet Union.
 Gallo. op. cit.
134. R. Bulnes. op. cit.
135. Jon Amsden : Collective Bargaining and Class Conflict in Spain.
 London, 1972.
136. Gallo. op. cit.
137. As Gallo points out, women protested in markets about the price rises, demonstrations began to be carried-out by sections of the middle classes, and small milk-producing peasants in Asturias blocked-off roads and overturned lorries in their struggle against the large proprietors who collected their milk. Throughout the country, the development of a broader movement of protest could be detected by the late 60's.
 Gallo. op. cit.
138. J. Maravall : Dictatorship and Political Dissent.
 op. cit.
139. The FST has been previously mentioned. The UTS was a neo-Falange group, created in 1964, and said to have moved towards anarcho-syndicalist positions.

140. The "Jurado de empresa" was a sort of shop stewards' committee. The "enlace" was the works' representative who sat on the committee.
141. "Apuntes para una historia". Fondo de Documentacion Anarco-sindicalista. (cyclostat copy). Madrid, 1969.
142. The Tribunales de Orden Publico were created in 1963. These were civil courts, while previously all strikes had been considered acts of revellion and thus tried in military courts.
143. Overtures had been made to the UGT and the CNT, to help in the "regeneration of syndical life". The UGT refused to have anything to do with this manoeuvre. However, certain CNT members drew-up a six-point programme with the "vertical". This shall be taken up more fully in the next chapter.
144. This brief summing-up of the ten points of the Workers' Commissions is stated in "The Working-Class under the Franco Regime, by Sheelagh Ellwood (in Spain in Crisis, ed. P. Preston) However, in the full document "Ante el future del Sindicalismo", printed in the clandestine pamphlet previously mentioned ("Apuntes para una Historia", op. cit.) in point 1 there is a more strident attack on the capitalist system, and the reason given for the need for assemblies is that "they should agree to a formula that avoids the dictatorship of the strongest and best organised group, compatible with the respect shown towards the democratic agreements of the majority. This will be the guarantee of unity". This is an important difference given the later problems within the Commissions over CP dominance. It was also an important precedent for the later development of the Assembly movement and Worker's Autonomy.

Jon Amsden also points out that in another document (published in Cuadernos de Ruedo Iberico, August/September 1966), the leaders of the Workers' Commissions were fully aware of the possibilities opened-up by the Law of Collective Contracts, and also its connection with productivity agreements.

Amsden. op. cit. p. 102.
145. Several "Left" Falangists continued within the syndical Movement, and viewed the development of the Workers' Commissions favourably.
146. Standard Electric, Marconi, Perkins, Lamparas Metal, Helices Bresel, Siemens, Pegaso, Roeticher, AEG and Osram.
"Apuntes para una historia". op. cit.

147. Jon Amsden. op. cit. p. 96
Amsden sees this as being essentially an anti-Communist manoeuvre, as the groups involved were Christian and Falangist. Although this is probably in part true, he fails to mention however the increasing Communist penetration, and anti-democratic actions, which Guy Hermet points to.
Hermet. op. cit.
This was also the impression I received in interviews with militants of the period. Moreover, Amsden himself admits that some ex-Falangists had been imprisoned for their activities before October 1964.
148. "Apuntes para una Historia". op. cit.
149. Apuntes. op. cit.
J. Amsden. op. cit.
Sanz Oller. op. cit.
Interviews with several militants who took part in the first Workers' Commissions in Barcelona, 1979.
150. Jon Amsden. op. cit.
A look at the labour conflicts in Barcelona, and the nearby textile towns of Terrasa and Sabadell, bear this out.
Amsden. op. cit. p. 96.
151. Jose Maravall : Dictatorship and Political Dissent.
p. 56 - 57.
He stresses the success of the strategy of infiltration within the official trade unions in Catalonia, particularly in Baix Llobregat and Valles, and the towns of Hospitaret, Cornellá, Gavà, Sardanyola, Terrasa and Sabadell.
152. J. Amsden. op. cit. p. 99.
153. There were obvious reasons for this late reaction :
a) being the last seat of the Second Republic, the repression was particularly harsh and left a deep impression on the local population.
b) the economic structure of the region : a fairly fertile agricultural economy with some allied industry. (packing, conservation) but without heavy industry until fairly recently. Even now, many urban workers still have access to land (in the orange groves) either belonging to their family or friends.
154. There is some discrepancy of opinions over the role played by the CP in Bilbao. Jon Amsden holds the opinion that the CP was the driving force behind the Commissions

here, which had been a stronghold of the party since the Second Republic. Maravall, on the contrary, believes that the Socialist Party still had considerable strength. He thus concludes that the Commissions were relatively weak in Vizcaya, as the Socialist strategy was one of boycott of the "vertical".

Basque nationalists such as Letamendia, stress the influence of ETA within the trade unions, particularly in Bilbao. (Interview in Vitoria Topo, June 1979).

Sanz Oller, a militant in the Commissions in Barcelona, also believe that national feeling played an important part in workers' mobilisation in the Basque country at the time.

S. Oller. op. cit.

155. There is great difficulty in assessing the strength of the Commissions in Asturias, home of the first Commissions in 1962. Both Amsden and Maravall hold the view that the Commissions were relatively weak (vis-à-vis the other industrial centres). This seems to be supported by the fact that the Socialist Party, still strong in the province, did not advise infiltration into the official trade unions, crucial to the whole strategy of the Commissions proposed by the CP, the FLP, and the Christian organisations. But in interviews which Jordi Blanc carried-out in Asturias, it would seem that the Commissions there functioned as a parallel trade union, and had grown enormously since 1962, collecting strike funds and organising demonstrations. Moreover, the Commissions in Asturias had not been propelled by any political party, but had grown out of the struggle itself, at the level of the firm and mine.

J. Blanc. op. cit.

156. J. Amsden. op. cit. p. 99.

157. J. Amsden. op. cit.

Apuntes. op. cit.

S. Oller. op. cit.

This was the overwhelming impression I received from interviews with various militants of this period.

158. This was not, however, universally the case : at the Barreiras (Chrysler) plant in Madrid, workers were unable to establish a plant organisation, despite strong organisation in the same area and same industry during the same period.

J. Maravall. op. cit.

159. For an account of this historic strike, written by the strikers themselves, see "Nuestra Huelga" Paris, 1968.

Looking at the programme of the Workers' Commissions / UGT/USO, Maravall has this to say of the Commissions : "It must however be noted that in no document was it possible to find a statement referring to specific features of the alternative society defended by the Commissions: there is no reference in their publications to planning, nationalisation, self-management, nor to demands for wide economic reforms. The whole of the claims of the Workers' Commissions is on immediate trade-union demands, which were occasionally placed within the context of a strong attack against the regime".

op. cit. p. 86.

Also, see J. Amsden (op. cit. p. 101). on the complacency with which the Opus Dei viewed the Commissions in their magazine "Mundo".

160. Madrid witnessed rapid industrialisation in the mid-60's. In 1965, the number of metal workers was 115,000, a 43,5 % increase on 1958. The car factories of Pegaso-ENSA and Chrysler, the engineering, machine tool and light factories made Madrid the second industrial city of Spain in the late 60's. Although working class struggle was more dispersed through various branches of industry, than was the case in other regions (only registering 49,2 % metal workers compared to 81,2 % in Barcelona), it was, as in the other provinces, overwhelmingly located in the larger firms. Building workers and bank employees were also an important part of the working class movement in Madrid.

Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

Later in the decade, the metal workers of Seville, El Ferrol and Vigo in Corunna, and Asturias, emerged increasingly as militant and combative sectors of the working class, as did building workers and bank employees in Madrid.

In Asturias, the economic crisis of the mines ran counter to the increasing importance of the steel industry, consisting of two modern firms : UNINSA, private, and ENSIDESA, a nationalised company.

Maravall. op. cit.

161. This was overwhelmingly the case in the Basque provinces, where 58 % of conflicts in the steel and metal industry were over issues of solidarity, including demands for democracy and amnesty. Between 1963-1967, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa alone accounted for 58 % of workers in the iron and steel industry whose wages and working conditions were governed by NOC awards (these "normas" were granted through the Ministry of Labour, when a break-down in negotiations occurred). "Area General strikes", when whole industries in the locality struck, seemed to have been more common in the Basque provinces, and were often over issues of solidarity.

Maravall. op. cit.

162. This was the case in Catalonia, where the main source of conflict was wages. Detentions and other sanctions against workers' leaders however quickly led to shows of solidarity (strikes, go-slows and demonstrations).
J. Maravall. op. cit.
163. In 1959, 433,229 workers were covered by the system of collective bargaining. Ten years later five million workers were thus covered. The changeover from the system of "reglamentaciones" (wage guidelines) from the Minister of Labour, was by no means immediate. The dramatic change occurred in 1962, when the figures shot-up from 937,316 (1961) to 2,316,413.
J. Maravall. op. cit.
164. For figures, see Amsden. op. cit. p. 152.
He lists the industries where plant bargaining was more frequent : engineering, construction, glass and ceramics and chemicals.
165. J. Amsden. op. cit.
166. J. Maravall : Modernisation, Authoritarianism and the Growth of Working Class Dissent : The Case of Spain, in Government and Opposition.
Vol. 8 N° 4, 1973.
167. These strikes were in Transport and engineering in Barcelona, light engineering in Madrid, Seville and Pamplona, and banking in Catalonia.
J. Maravall. op. cit.
168. Apuntes. op. cit.
169. Mild stabilisation measures had been taken during 1964, in April 1965, and again in October 1966. Devaluation of the peseta followed in November 1967, accompanied by tougher measures on stabilisation.
J. Esteban. op. cit.
170. Gallo. op. cit.
171. As Maravall points out : "As it grew more intensive, industrial conflict after 1967 also became more political. Thus, from 1963 to 1967, economic demands were pre-dominant (44.2 %) followed by claims related to collective bargaining (15.2 %) while solidarity claims were relatively rare (4 %). From 1967 the situation changed : solidarity claims reached 45.4 %, collective bargaining claims increased to 20.1 %, while economic demands dropped to 25.6 % Solidarity was not limited to the firm ; it soon extended to an inter-industrial , and later to an inter-provincial level, as support for workers who already were in conflict in other firms or who had suffered sanctions. Politically oriented demands generally consisted of demands for free and democratic unions and for the right to strike".
Maravall : Dictatorship and Political Dissent. op.cit.
p. 178.

172. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
173. Guy Hermet. op. cit. p. 66
174. Guy Hermet. op. cit.
175. Guy Hermet. op. cit.
176. The fact that workers were more affected by the split in Catalonia is closely connected to the problems, from the Civil War, between the Catalan Communists, who wished to keep a separate regional identity and autonomy from the national party, and the "Carrillista" wing. Indeed, there had always existed small clandestine groups in Catalonia who opposed all efforts at complete integration within the "Carrillista" organisation.
Hermet. op. cit.
177. Jorge Semprún : The Spanish Opposition, in International Socialist Journal.
N° 20, April 1967.
178. F. Claudín. op. cit.
179. F. Claudín. op. cit.
180. Hermet. op. cit.
Lack of proper clandestine precautions was another criticism levelled at the organisation by Claudin. This failure is graphically illustrated in Semprun's 'Autobiografía de Federico Sanchez'. op. cit.
181. This is borne out by Amsden and Maravall. ops. cit.
Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
182. This will be taken-up more fully in the next chapter.
The major splits in the late 60's were the Stalinists under Lister, in 1969, the "United" group in the Catalan CP, the PCE (ML), Bandera Roja, and the Liga Comunista (IV International).
Hermet. op. cit.
183. According to Angel Bernal, fifty percent of Spanish graduates were either under-employed or unemployed.
A. Bernal : Las Paradojas del Movimiento Universitario, in Horizonte Español. vol. 2, 1966.
This particularly affected Law and Philosophy.
184. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
185. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
186. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

187. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

188. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

Some mention should be made of the changes which have taken place within the Universities. Firstly, the "boom" in student numbers : between 1960 and 1970, while the population grew by 0,97 % annually, the cumulative number of students grew by 9.65 %. The intake almost doubled between 1960 and 1967, and one and a half times between 1967 and 1970. The new students appear to have come primarily from the lower middle classes, who could now afford to send their children to university. Very few working class children made it to university : according to Salvador Giner, the Spanish system is more class-ridden than elsewhere.

S. Giner : Power, Freedom and Social Change in the Spanish University - 1939-1975.

In Spain in Crisis. op. cit.

Another point should be made : untill 1969, no real investment or re-building took place in Higher Education. Therefore the "boom" occurred in over-crowded class rooms (some had as many as 500 students), coupled with lack of research and practical facilities, archaic methods of teaching and nepotistic inadequacy.

189. Gallo. op. cit

190. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

Gallo. op. cit.

191. A. Pena. op. cit.

Gallo. op. cit.

192. Gallo. op. cit.

193. L. Hollyman. op. cit.

194. Gallo. op. cit.

Having lived through part of this period myself in Spain, it was evident that workers, while not themselves prepared to carry-out violence, were nevertheless heartened when a member of the security forces was killed by ETA. This was particularly the case if they themselves had suffered at the hands of some of these sadists.

195. It should be remembered that the universities were almost continually occupied by the police during 1967 and 1968, while two students deaths had occurred in "strange" circumstances.

196. J. Esteban. op. cit.

197. An idea of the types of pressure put on voters in this referendum is given by de Blaye. Workers were given a few hours off to vote, but had to bring a certificate back to work in order not to lose their pay. "Spaniards who were away from their normal domicile on the day of the referendum could also vote wherever they happened to be. This facility was put to good use by many keen supporters of the regime, whether put up to it or not, in order to vote 2 or 3 times. In several areas of Andalusia and Castille, for example, the 'pucherazo' (stuffing of the urns) was carried so far that the number of voters sometimes exceeded by 15 to 20 % the number of registered voters."
- E. de Blaye. op. cit. p. 238.
198. 100 "procuradores" (Cortes members), could now be elected by heads of families and married women.
- de Blaye. op. cit.
199. Gallo. op. cit. p. 410.
200. The fact that the Eurovision Song Contest was soon to be held in Madrid has also been cited as a reason for lifting it earlier. The correspondent from Le Monde, in Horizonte Español, Vol. 1, Paris, 1972.
201. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
202. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
203. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
204. In 1970, there were 817 officially recorded strikes. In 1969 that number had been 459, while in 1968, the number had been 350. In September 1969, four Asturian miners had lost their lives in less than 48 hours. 10,000 miners struck immediately for better safety precautions in Hunosa, the state-owned mine in Asturias.
- Horizonte Español. op. cit.
205. This unprecedented decree had been issued from the Council of Ministers, reflecting the seriousness of the situation in the Spanish capital.
- Horizonte Español. op. cit.
206. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
- Horizonte Español. op. cit.
207. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
- Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

208. "Wild-cat" strikes and those for political demands would increase even further later in the 1970's.
Maravall. op. cit.
Horizonte Español. op. cit.
Luchas Autonomas en La Transicion Democratica.
Colectivo. Madrid, 1977.
209. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
210. De Blaye. op. cit.
211. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
212. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
Ben Ami : La Revolucion desde arriba : España, 1936-1979
Barcelona, 1981. p. 228.
213. Ben Ami. op. cit.
214. Ben Ami. op. cit. p. 229.
215. Ben Ami. op. cit.
216. The clandestine trade unions claimed that around 5,000 were interrogated or convicted between December 1970 and June 1971.
Horizonte Español. op. cit.
217. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
de Blaye. op. cit.
218. See the references to the sentences meted-out to ETA in "Efemerides", in
Horizonte Espanol. op. cit.
219. Añ de Blaye says of this kidnapping : "The choice of victim was at first glance a surprising one. Zabala was not the sprig of the immensely rich high society of the Basque country, nor was he known for any close links with the regime. As a member of the boards of directors of several enterprises however, he was an embodiment of that new generation of Spanish businessman who, while professing a luke-warm attitude to Francoism, were openly grateful to the government for maintaining the ban on the right to strike, the single 'official' syndicate, the freezing of wages, and so on. From this standpoint, the kidnapping of Zabala had the value of an example - and of a warning --".
de Blaye. op. cit. p. 333.
A similar action was carried-out a year later, when the millionaire Felipe Huarte was kidnapped in Pamplona. 114 workers were reinstated, and 50 millions paid in ransom. The Torfinasa company, belonging to Huarte, paid up.
de Blaye. op. cit.

221. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
Sanz Oller. op. cit.
222. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of cars had risen from 600,000 to over two million. The cost of living had risen by 12 % in 1971 alone.
de Blaye. op. cit.
223. Building workers struck in Madrid (one worker was killed during this strike), strikes took place in the Asturian mines, and metal firms in Pamplona and Seville. Nurses, doctors and state television workers all struck in support of pay claims and the right to form authentic trade unions.
Horizonte Español. op. cit.
224. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
225. Horizonte Español. op. cit.
226. de Blaye. op. cit.
227. de Blaye. op. cit.
228. S. Giner. op. cit.
229. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
de Blaye. op. cit.
230. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
231. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
232. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
233. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
234. The principal extreme-right-wing groups which emerged at this time were the Guerrillas of Christ the King, Cruz Iberica and the Círculo de Amigos de Europa. Members of Cruz Ibérica held-up a bank and stole some 7 million pesetas in March 1973. Those arrested for these actions were tried in civilian courts, whereas those usually accused of armed attacks were tried in military courts. The founding meeting of the Círculo de Amigos de Europa took place in a cultural centre belonging to the Madrid Municipality, loaned to them by the authorities.
de Blaye. op. cit.
235. As de Blaye points out, the fact that the perpetrators of this killing had not been found after several months of investigation, led Spanish oppositionists to claim that the I May events had been deliberately provoked by the police, in order to discredit the "technocrats" in office.
de Blaye. op. cit.

236. Ben Ami. op. cit.
237. The greatest ^{growth} sectors were cars, shoes, textiles, metallurgy and chemicals, with Spain in the top league of shipbuilders in the world.
Ben Ami. op. cit.
238. Despite the continuing inflationary spiral, the growth in tourism and foreign remittances had contributed to the balance of payments.
Ben Ami. op. cit.
239. Ben Ami. op. cit.
The account of the planning of this execution is given by the ETA commando in "Operacion Ogro", by Julen Aguirre, "como y por que ejecutamos a C. Blanco". Handaya, 1974.
This was distributed clandestinely in Spain. The ETA commando had made a tunnel beneath the roadway and placed TNT in it, and connected it to a detonating device some kilometres away. They had been planning the operation for five weeks, under the noses of the police.
240. It was everywhere feared that his assassination was the beginning of another Crusade, much bloodier than the last.
241. Ben Ami. op. cit.
242. The maximum of 20 years was applied to Marcelino Camacho and Eduardo Saborido, and nineteen years for Father García Salve and Nicolas Sartorias. Other sentences were given from between twelve and eighteen years.
243. Fourteen out of twenty portfolios changed hands.
E. de Blaye. op. cit.
244. Ben Ami. op. cit.
245. Separation of powers ; government officials would no longer be able to sit in the Cortes.
Ben Ami. op. cit.
246. Puig Antich, accused of murdering a policeman (whose guilt was never proved), belonged to the neo-anarchist group MIL (Movimiento Ibérico de Liberación). The development of this group will be taken up in the next chapter.
247. As Ben Ami says, Diez Alegría had been receiving numerous monacles by post, showing that sections of the Left placed hopes in him carrying through a similar rôle in Spain.
Ben Ami. op. cit.

248. E. de Blaye. op. cit.

As Ben Ami point out, the sacking of Pío Cabanillas, in Information and Tourism, ended the most liberal period yet known in Spain in the field of information. His sacking, and that of his team, was a direct result of Right-wing pressure, after the killing of eleven people in the centre of Madrid on 13th of September 1974. It is highly likely that this was the work of Right-wing extremists, although it was officially attributed to ETA.

Ben Ami. op. cit.

249. A common programme was agreed to which included amnesty for political prisoners, the right to strike, freedom of expression and association, and the re-establishment of the 1932 Autonomy Statute, which gave autonomy to Catalonia.

E. de Blaye. op. cit.

250. The PSOE did not agree with the whole of the Junta programme, and it seems that the CP would not accept entry unless the entire programme was agreed to. The PSOE wished for greater regional autonomy, and believed that the CP was too lenient towards the repressive forces of the regime.

P. Preston. op. cit.

251. Preston. op. cit.

The PT (Workers' Party) finally joined in late 1975, which caused a split in the organisation.

252. Preston. op. cit.

253. Ben Ami. op. cit.

254. Ben Ami. op. cit. p. 244.

255. Maravall. : Dictatorship. op. cit.

256. Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.

As Ben Ami says, these massive strikes throughout the Basque provinces in 1973, called by the Commissions, included bank employees and shop workers. The strikes were only brought to an end when the employers in the region, fearful that workers in the entire region would strike, pressured the firm which had fired the workers to take them back.

Ben Ami. op. cit.

257. Ben Ami. op. cit.

258. The PTE, Spanish Workers' Party, had been one of the splits to the left of the CP in the late 60's. It had succeeded in being one of the major left groups in Catalonia by the mid-70's.

259. Ben Ami. op. cit.
Maravall. : Dictatorship. op. cit.
260. The extent of this process will be taken up in the next chapter.
261. In the summer of 1975, dozens of priests were arrested in the northern provinces for having used Marxist terminology in their sermons. One of these priests expressed this thus : "While the Church doesn't respond to the working class living in this case in the Basque country, it will be unable to give a valid reply to the working mass. The work of the clergy is to expose the ideology of ETA and help the people discover the true Gospel ; to reinterpret faith from the perspective of the class struggle.. Only from this class perspective can one live Christianity, and love can only be understood from a political viewpoint, and one of struggle."
Ben Ami. op. cit. p. 262 - 263.
262. FRAP and MIL have been mentioned previously. The GARI were the successors of the MIL. Progressive bookshops, bars, social centres and "liberal newspapers and magazines", were repeatedly attacked by Right-wing groups during this time. The Grupo de Actividad Sindicalista, was very active in Catalonia, and had links with the European "Ordre Nouveau". The "Hijos de Cristo Rey" (Children of Christ the King), were another of the groups which emerged during these months. They were very active in the Basque country against ETA, and had a considerable following in Madrid as well. Fuerza Nueva, Círculo de Amigos de Europa, all these groups grew and increased their activities during the last months of Franco's reign. "Red" priests, "progressive" bookshops, and films were favourite targets.
Ben Ami. op. cit.
Triunfo, July, August, September 1975.
263. Ben Ami. op. cit.
264. As Ben Ami points out, a referendum carried-out at this time amongst businessmen showed that they favoured a new type of labour relations for fear that the present state of things would lead to political instability and would endanger the security of their firms.
Ben Ami. op. cit.
265. The Unitary Candidature presented this programme to the workers : a 40-hour week, higher minimum salary, pensions, security of employment, amnesty for a social prisoners, a monthly paid holiday, and freedom of association. Massive demonstrations led by the Commissions, demanding democracy and freedom, took place repeatedly throughout 1975.
Maravall : Dictatorship. op. cit.
266. Ben Ami. op. cit.

267. The "centre-Right" formed the Federacion de Investigacion Indipendiente, Sociedad Anónima (FEDISA), which included Pio Cabanillas, Fraga Iribarne, Areilza and Ricardo de la Cierva. These ex-Francoists, many of whom were ex-ambassadors and ex-ministers, were joined by conservative lawyers, ex-diplomatic workers, engineers and members of the Christian Democratic Group, "Tacito". Fraga Iribarne was the leader of what Ben Ami calls the "pseudo-opposition" of FEDISA, formed in July 1975. Another "pseudo-opposition" force, created in the summer of 1975, was the Reforma Social Española (RSE), which called for administrative autonomy for the regions (Basque provinces, Galicia and Catalonia), general amnesty for political prisoners, and a government based on the majority of the groups which functioned within the "Associations' Law". As Ben Ami says : "This was not just an opportunistic leap to abandon the Francoist ship, but a tactical agreement to announce that they were prepared to move half-way in the direction of the real democratic opposition : not out of conviction, but from fear".

Ben Ami. op. cit. p. 242.

268. E. de Blaye. op. cit.

269. Ben Ami. op. cit.
de Blaye. op. cit.

270. Triumfo. September 1975.

271. Ben Ami. op. cit.

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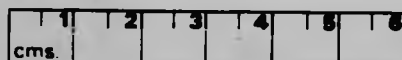
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